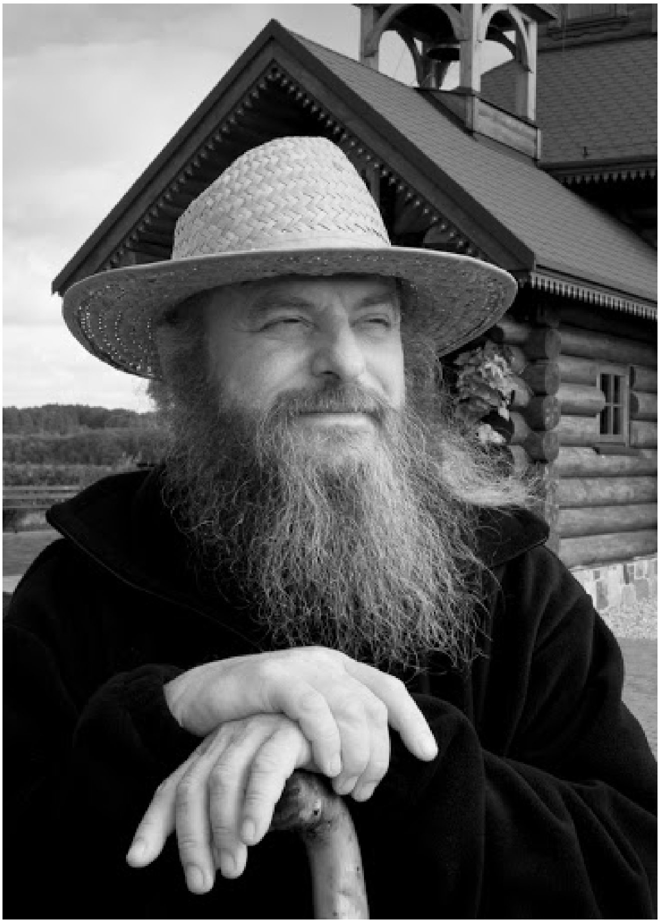
Orthódoxi Evrópi

STUDIA DO DZIEJÓW KOŚCIOŁA PRAWOSŁAWNEGO
W EUROPIE WSCHODNIEJ

Rocznik
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The third volume of the Orthódoxi Evrópi is dedicated to the memory of the late Archimandrite priest, Dr. Gabriel (Giba)

Ο τρίτος τόμος της Ορθόδοξης Ευρώπης είναι αφιερωμένος στη μνήμη του αείμνηστου ιερέα Αρχιμανδρίτη, Δρ. Gabriel (Giba)

Orthódoxi Evrópi

Studia do dziejów
Kościoła prawosławnego
w Europie Wschodniej

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Православная Европа
Исследования по истории Православной Церкви
в Восточной Европе

Orthodox Europe
Studies for the history of the Orthodox Church
in Eastern Europe

Ορθόδοξη Ευρώπη
Μελέτες για την ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας
στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη

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Spis treści

Wprowadzenie

Oddajemy do rąk czytelników trzeci numer czasopisma „Orthódoxi Evrópi. Studia do dziejów Kościoła prawosławnego w Europie Wschodniej”. Już dwa pierwsze numery czasopisma wzbudziły szerokie zainteresowanie w kraju i zagranicą. Deklarację współpracy z redakcją pisma złożyło wielu znanych badaczy dziejów Kościoła prawosławnego w Europie. Redakcja dziękuje za propozycje współpracy, wszelkie uwagi i pomysły. W założeniach inicjatorów czasopisma jest jego otwartość na opracowania poświęcone różnych aspektom funkcjonowania prawosławia w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej. Z radością witamy więc nowych autorów i współpracowników. Mamy nadzieję że czasopismo “Orthódoxi Evrópi” będzie naszym wspólnym dziełem.

Niniejszy nowy periodyk zawiera kilka artykułów na temat historii prawosławia w Europie Wschodniej. Periodyk „Orthódoxi Evrópi” przedstawia artykuły, które stanowią wstęp do poznania dziejów społeczności prawosławnej w Europie Wschodniej. Celem periodyku jest również zwrócenie uwagi na relacje między Kościołem prawosławnym a Kościołem katolickim w tej części Europy. Chcielibyśmy przedstawić ten problem w wielu aspektach: religijnym, politycznym, kulturalnym i społecznym. Pokazanie tych relacji jest bardzo ważnym zadaniem, ponieważ są one dziedzictwem całej wspólnoty prawosławnej. Mamy nadzieję, że pismo „Orthódoxi Evrópi” doda nowego impulsu do badań nad wpływem chrześcijaństwa prawosławnego na formowanie się tożsamości narodów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Autorzy wyrażają przekonanie, że nowe czasopismo ukarze rolę Kościoła prawosławnego w kształtowaniu cywilizacyjnej tradycji tej części Europy.

Chcemy przypomnieć, że periodyk „Orthódoxi Evrópi” skierowany jest do szerokiego grona czytelników, którzy nie posiadają wiedzy z zakresu historii krajów Europy Wschodniej i relacji międzywyznaniowych. Autorzy chciałby wskazać na pewne problemy, które miały znaczący wpływ na dzieje ludności prawosławnej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej i krajach sąsiednich. Problemy te mają wielkie znaczenie w historii tych państw i tożsamości ich mieszkańców. Ukazywanie istotnych wydarzeń w dziejach prawosławia w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej nie jest jedynie przypomnieniem faktów historycznych, ale sposobem ukazania złożoności minionych relacji międzywyznaniowych. Jednocześnie autorzy pragną ukazać rolę kultury prawosławnej w dziejach narodów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej.

Foreword

Herby we present our readers with the third issue of "*Orthódoxi Evrópi*. Studies on the history of the Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe". The first two issue of the magazine have aroused wide interest in the country and abroad. Many well-known scholars of the history of the Orthodox Church in Europe have declared their willingness to participate in the journal's development. The editorial boards is grateful for offers of cooperation, all comments and ideas. One of the assumptions of the initiators of the journal are for it to be its open to studies devoted to a variety of aspects of the functioning of Eastern Orthodoxy in Central and Eastern Europe. We are happy to welcome new authors and collaborators. We hope that the "*Orthódoxi Evrópi*" magazine will be our common achievement.

This new periodical contains some articles about the history of Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe. The periodical "*Orthódoxi Evrópi*" presents articles, which are an introduction to the history of different problems concerning the Orthodox peoples in Eastern Europe. The aim of the periodical is to draw attention to the relations between the Orthodox and Catholic churches in this part of Europe. We would like to present the many aspects of this problem: religious, political, cultural and social. Showing these relations is a very important task, as they are the heritage of the whole Orthodox community. We hope that this tome will give a fresh impulse for research on the influence of the Orthodox Christianity on the formation of the identity of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. We also hope that this new periodical will take up the problem of presenting the role of the Orthodox Church in the formation of the civilizational tradition of this region of Europe.

We would like to reiterate that "*Orthódoxi Evrópi*" is directed at a wide audience, who are not necessarily knowledgeable about the field of the history of the countries of Eastern Europe and interdenominational relations. Authors would like to point out certain problems, which have had a significant influence on the history of the Orthodox in Central and Eastern Europe and neighboring countries. These questions have a great significance for the history of these states and the identity of their inhabitants. Showing the dramatic moments in the history of the Orthodoxy in Central-Eastern Europe is not merely a reminder of historical fact, but a way of showing the complexity of past interdenominational relations. At the same time the authors wish to show the role of Orthodox culture in the history of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe.

ANTONI MIRONOWICZ

The Orthodox Church in the Polish and Ruthenian Lands to the end of 12th Century

Słowa kluczowe: Cerkiew prawosławna, Dynasta Piastowska, Ziemie polskie
Keywords: Orthodox Church, Piast dynasty, Polish Lands

Streszczenie

Kościół prawosławny na ziemiach polskich i ruskich do końca XII wieku

Cerkiew na ziemiach ruskich była organizacyjnie i duchowo powiązana ze społecznością prawosławną znajdującą się na terytorium państwa pierwszych Piastów. Z tego powodu rozpatrywanie sytuacji ludności w granicach państwa polskiego musi uwzględniać przedstawioną wyżej charakterystykę Kościoła ruskiego. Położenie wyznawców Kościoła prawosławnego w Polsce zmieniało się wraz ze zmianami organizacyjnymi w strukturze cerkiewnej, zmianami w relacjach między księstwami polskimi i ruskimi, a zwłaszcza kolejnymi przesunięciami granic naszego państwa na wschodzie.

Abstract

The Orthodox Church in the Polish and Ruthenian Lands to the end of 12th Century

The Ruthenian Church was organisationally and spiritually connected to the Orthodox community in the early Piast state. Therefore, an analysis of the situation of Polish Orthodox Christians has to include the aforementioned overview of the Ruthenian Church. Their position changed along with the organisational changes in the Orthodox Church, changes in relations between the Polish and Ruthenian states, and especially the alterations to the eastern border of Poland.

[1] Prof. Antoni Mironowicz, Dean, Chair of the History of East-Central Europe of the University in Białystok. His specialisation is the history of the Eastern Church in Middle-Eastern Europe. He is an author of 62 books and around 500 other works on this subject.

The development of Christianity in Europe finished by the end of the 10th century. This momentous fact was of significant importance for the formation, in the following centuries, of civilizational borders shaped by the reach of western and eastern Christianity. Since its formation and throughout the middle ages Poland was at the crossroads between western and eastern influences. By accepting Christianity from the Czechs in 966 it finally landed in the sphere of Latin civilisation. At the same time, it remained on the periphery of Latin Christian Europe. It is in the middle ages that the ethnic and territorial borders of Poland took shape, and its cultural identity formed. The early Piast state had permanent western borders, while its eastern border remained fluid, which influenced the reach of Latin Christianity. As the border expanded eastern Orthodox Christians came under the governance of the Piast dynasty.

The multi-ethnic Kievan Rus' occupied a special position on the map of European Christianity. The state had close ties to Byzantium and direct political and cultural relations with other Christian states: Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. This closeness to Kievan Rus', strengthened through numerous marriage alliances with the Rurik dynasty, influenced Christianity in Poland. Direct Byzantine and Bulgarian influences had reached Poland by way of Kievan Rus' since the 10th century. The position of Kievan Rus' predestined it to become the new centre of civilisation at the border between the Christian and Islamic world. According to Władysław Abraham, Kiev must have had a strong influence on Poland, as there was no comparable centre of civilisation in the west. This influence was strengthened by the continued political and trade relations with Kievan Rus', as well as the frequent marriage alliances between the ruling houses of the two states. The Ruthenian and Byzantine influence was expressed in style and in architecture, as well as coinage. Therefore, they could have just as well influenced the Polish church[2].

Before discussing the influence of the Ruthenian Church on the formation of Orthodox church structures in Poland under the Piast dynasty, we should discuss its formation in Ruthenian lands in the 10th-12th centuries. Nestor's *Primary Chronicle* traces the beginnings of Christianity in Ruthenian lands to the apostolic period. Nestor recalls St. Andrew the Apostle teaching north of the Black Sea and travelling to Kiev and Novgorod[3]. Apostle Andrew's travels in

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[2] W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII*, ed. 3, Poznań 1962, p. 159.

[3] *Kroniki staroruskie*. Wybrał, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył F. Sielicki, Warszawa 1987, pp. 20-21. I only invoke the latest analyses: Л. Миллер, *Древнерусское сказание о хождении апостола Андрея в Киев и Новгород*, [in:] „Летописи и хроники" Москва 1974, pp. 48-63; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura teologiczna na Rusi Kijowskiej (988-1237)*, Kraków 2000, pp. 26-29; A. Mironowicz, *Metropolia kijowska w strukturze patriarchatu konstantynopolitańskiego (988-1685)*, [in:] *Autokefalie Kościoła prawosławnego w Polsce*, ed. A. Mironowicz, U. Pawluczuk, Białystok 2006, pp. 23–64.

Ruthenia are not a reliable historical fact. Its introduction into old Ruthenian literature was supposed to underscore the antiquity of the Ruthenian church, by extending its origins to apostolic times, and to put it on equal footing with other local churches. Similarly, his presence at the spot where Kiev was founded was to confirm its predestination to become a spiritual and organisational centre for the Ruthenian Church.

The Life of Constantine indicates that the origins of Christianity in Ruthenian lands date back to the mission of Methodius[4]. Full Christianisation of Kievan Rus' was probably achieved after the establishment of political treatises with Byzantium in 911 and 944. Princess Olga was baptised in 955 not in Constantinople, but in Kiev, and came to the Byzantine capitol already a Christian[5]. We learn from Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos' (944-959) *De Ceremoniis* that Olga was hosted at the Emperor's court twice. Had the basileus observed such an event, he would have mentioned the Kievan princess' christening. According to some scholars her journey to Constantinople had the objective of establishing a bishopric in Ruthenian lands. After her return from Byzantium she became a proponent of Christianity in Kievan Rus' and prepared it for official adoption of Christianity, which brought civilizational and cultural prestige to the Kievan state. That is why after her death in 969 she was worshiped in the Ruthenian tradition a saint equal to Mary Magdalene and the Apostles. Her cult was popularised by the metropolitan of Kiev Hilarion in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*. Olga's cult became more prominent in the 13th century after her canonization[6]. Olga's son Sviatoslav did not follow in her footsteps, but there is no indication of any particular persecution of Christians under his rule. Officially, the evangelisation of Ruthenian lands began under the reign of duke Vladimir the Great. Initially he persecuted Christians, as is testified by the martyrdom of saints Theodor and John canonized in the Eastern Church. A church was built in the

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[4] *Apostołowie Słowian. Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego.* Przekład z języka staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskiego, wstęp i objaśnienia T. Lehr-Spławiński, Warszawa 1988, pp. 66-71; J. Swastek, *Chrzest Rusi*, [in:] *Teologia i kultura duchowa starej Rusi*, ed. J. P. Gajka i W. Hryniewicza, Lublin 1993, pp. 59-62; H. Paszkiewicz, *Początki Rusi*, Kraków 1996, pp. 43-53.

[5] Ibidem, p. 33; See: Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, Москва 1904, pp. 96, 97; J. Umiński, *Obrządek słowiański w Polsce w IX-X wieku i zagadnienie drugiej metropolii polskiej w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL", 4 (1953), ed. 1954, z. 4, pp. 7, 8; D. Obolensky, *Ruś i Bizancjum w połowie X stulecia: problem chrztu księżnej Olgi*, [in:] *Chrystus zwyciężył. Wokół chrztu Rusi Kijowskiej*, ed. J. P. Gajka i W. Hryniewicza, Warszawa 1989, pp. 29-43; Idem, *Chrzest Olgi, księżnej kijowskiej*, [in:] *Teologia i kultura duchowa starej Rusi*, ed. W. Hryniewicza i J. P. Gajka, Lublin 1993, pp. 23-39; А. В. Назаренко, *Русская Церковь в X-1-й трети XV в.*, [in:] *Православная Энциклопедия. Русская Православная Церковь*, Москва 2000, pp. 38, 39.

[6] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История канонизации святых в русской церкви. Издание второе, исправленное и дополненное*, Москва 1903, p. 57.

place of their death in 989-996 dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, commonly known as the Church of the Tithes[7].

The circumstances of duke Vladimir's christening, which I will present here, are well described in literature. Byzantine Emperor Basil II asked the duke in 987 for his help in suppressing a rebellion by the usurper Bardas Focas. Should Vladimir provide military assistance as agreed, he was to accept Christianity and marry the emperor's sister – Anna, whom the German emperor Otto I unsuccessfully sought as a bride for his son Otto II. Having fulfilled his obligations to the emperor and taken Crimea and Korsun from the rebels, duke Vladimir demanded that the rest of the contract be fulfilled. Threatened by a new rebellion in Asia Minor, Basil II agreed to his sister's marriage. Vladimir's christening, performed by Byzantine clergy, took place on 6th January 988. According to the *Primary Chronicle*, a mass christening of the townspeople and the duke's court took place during Easter or the Pentecost. The duke married Anna Porphyrogenita sometime in the summer of 988. The princess was accompanied to Kiev by byzantine clergy, who brought with them numerous liturgical books and vessels, relics of saints, including the relics of pope St. Clement[8]. The relics were placed in the Church of the Tithes and later moved to the Saint Sophia Cathedral built by Yaroslav the Wise.

After the christening of Kiev, the evangelisation of all of the Grand Duchy of Kiev began, through which duke Vladimir wanted to consolidate his vast lands and multi-ethnic people. The Ruthenian church gained the support of the state allowing it to start missionary activities in areas inhabited by pagans. The eastern church cemented its position in the Dnepr valley through the introduction of Slavic liturgy, making use of the missionary achievements of Saints Cyril and Methodius. According to Henryk Paszkiewicz, the christening of Vladimir was conducted in Slavonic. Accepting Christianity according to the Slavic Rite made it natural for Kiev to maintain close relations to the western church[9].

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[7] N. Miedwiediew, *Chrzest Rusi*, „Chrześcijanin a Współczesność", no. 1 (27), 1988, pp. 13, 14; A. Mironowicz, *Św. Włodzimierz i jego rola w chrystianizacji ziem ruskich*, „Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej", vol VI: Cerkiew w drodze, ed. M. Kuczyńska, Białystok 2015, pp. 45-53.

[8] A detailed reconstruction of the Christianisation of Ruthenia was in recent years presented by: A. Poppe, *Ruś i Bizancjum w latach 986-989*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny", R. LI, no. 1, 1978, pp. 3-22; Idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, London 1982; G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)*, München 1982; O. M. Рапов, *Русская церковь в IX-первой трети XIII. Принятие христианства*, Москва 1988; S. Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, vol. I, Romae 1993; J. Swastek, *Chrzest Rusi*, pp. 55-71.

[9] H. Paszkiewicz, *Początki Rusi*, p. 51; W. Hryniewicz, *Chrystus zmartwychwstał. Motywy paschalne w pismach metropolity Iłariona (XI w.)*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 112-116; S. Kozak, *Spuścizna cyrylo-metodejska w procesie chrystianizacji Rusi*, [in:] *Chrystus zwyciężył. Wokół chrztu Rusi Kijowskiej*, ed. J. P. Gajka i W. Hryniewicza, Warszawa 1989, pp. 13-28. On the contacts between the Ruthenian and Latin churches under Vladimir the Great's rule see: W. Mokry, *Więzi łączące Ruś Kijowską i Halicko-Wołyńską z Rzymem w okresie X-XV*

From the beginning, the Ruthenian church was a metropolis, one of the provinces of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Therefore, the patriarch had certain administrative and judicial powers. He had the sole power of interpretation of the canons. The head of the Byzantine Church named the metropolitan. In practice, in the 10th and 11th century this task was performed by the patriarchal synod, which presented three candidates, who met all the necessary requirements. From among these the patriarch would choose and confirm a metropolitan. This procedure also applied to the Ruthenian church province. What differed the Kievan metropolis from those within the Empire, was that the act of enthronement was also an act of political accreditation. The ceremony was conducted in the Kiev Cathedral[10].

The Kievan metropolis was established ca 997 as the 60th metropolis of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Until then there was only a missionary bishop in Kiev. It can be assumed that a missionary bishop came to Kiev along with princess Anna in 989. The first metropolitan bishop was Theophylact, who was transferred from the metropolis of Sebastea in 991, one year before the death of patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges. The second metropolitan was John, although Ruthenian sources mention two more metropolitans from late 10th century – Michael and Leon. However, it is very doubtful that they occupied the metropolitan see in the 10th century[11]. The Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev was later joined by the Church of Saints Boris and Gleb in Lithuanian Novogrudok, as an important place of worship[12]. Suffragan dioceses were also created along with the Kiev metropolis, which included Kievan, Belarusian, and Lithuanian lands.

The first of these was established in Bilhorod, south-west of Kiev, one of the largest fortified settlements in Kievan Rus’. Bilhorod was closely associated with Kiev, serving as one of the Kievan duke’s residences, and played an important defensive role, but until the 12th century had no independent political significance. It served as the residence of younger princes governing it at the Kievan duke’s behest. The establishment of the Bilhorod cathedral is dated to

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wieku, [in:] *Teologia i kultura chrześcijańska dawnej Rusi*, ed. P. J. Koza, Lublin 1998, pp. 40-44.

[10] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 269-272; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 38, 39; Idem, *Przyjęcie chrześcijaństwa na Rusi w opiniach XI wieku*, [in:] *Teologia i kultura duchowa starej Rusi*, ed. W. Hryniewicza i J. P. Gajka, Lublin 1993, pp. 89-104; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, pp. 59-68.

[11] A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 25-33.

[12] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, т. IV, Санкт-Петербург 1886, p. 132; W. Zaikin, *Ustrój wewnętrzny Kościoła ruskiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI w. do unii lubelskiej*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie”, R. X, no. 2, Lwów 1930, p. 135; L. Bieńkowski, *Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce. Studia nad historią Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, t. II, cz. 2, Kraków 1969, p. 811.

the reign of Vladimir the Great. Bilhorod became a bishop's residence, because it had already been the duke's residence. The Bilhorod bishop was until 1165 the proto-thronos of the metropolis. His position, similarly to that of the Yuriev bishop, differed, especially in the 12th century, from the position of bishops residing in lesser feudal principalities. The Bielhorod and Yuriev dioceses were located, alongside the metropolitan diocese, in the Grand Duke's principality. The Grand Duke of Kiev, in cooperation with the metropolitan and having two other diocesans dependant on him, could exert influence on the ascent of bishops to cathedrals in other feudal principalities in Kievan Rus', as the metropolitan could, along with the two dependent bishops, consecrate a new diocesan[13].

The Yuriev bishopric was created during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, sometime after 1036, when the duke started building fortified settlements on the river Ros. The Yuriev bishopric was to provide pastoral services and oversee missionary activities among nomadic peoples, which could, if Christianised, be used against the Cumans (Polovtsi) and Pechenegs. Yaroslav erected the bishopric in Yuriev for the metropolitan to have another vicar alongside the Bielhorod bishop, which allowed him to consecrate diocesans without the need to summon other suffragans to Kiev. The bishop of Yuriev was not just the metropolitan's vicar, but also the administrator of his own diocese in the Ros river valley. The Yuriev diocesan stood in for the metropolitan during church ceremonies in Constantinople and Kiev[14]. In 1147-1149 the bishopric was moved from Yuriev to Kaniv.

In Novgorod, a political centre second only to Kiev, a bishopric cathedral was erected by the end of the 10th century. The Novgorod Chronicle dates the creation of the diocese as early as 989[15]. The early creation of this bishopric is corroborated by the wooden Saint Sophia Cathedral with thirteen domes, which was a copy of the wooden arch-cathedral in Kiev built during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. The first bishop of Novgorod was Joachim the Korsunian[16].

The Chernihiv bishopric was established in one of the leading fortified settlements in Kievan Rus' during the reign of Vladimir the Great. Just as in Kiev, there must have been a Christian community in Chernihiv before the official adoption of Christianity. Before 1036 Mstislav, the prince of Chernihiv, started to build a monumental new cathedral dedicated to Christ the Saviour, to

[13] A. Poppe, *Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach Kościoła na Rusi*, cz. 3, „Przegląd Historyczny", t. LVI, 1965, z. 4, pp. 557-564; A. Mironowicz, *Organizacja Kościoła prawosławnego na ziemiach ruskich w XI-XIII wieku*, [in:] *Ecclesia. Cultura. Potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, ed. P. Kras, A. Januszek, A. Nalewajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006, pp. 69-83.

[14] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 689, 690; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 188-192.

[15] *Полное собрание русских летописей*, (thereafter: *ПСРЛ*), т. IV, Петроград 1915, p. 90.

[16] A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 1, „Przegląd Historyczny", t. LV, 1964, z. 3, pp. 382, 383.

replace the old wooden one[17]. The creation of a bishopric resulted from Chernihiv's dominant political position. After 1246 the diocese was moved to Bryansk.

Periaslav, which was the seat of a diocese encompassing the lands of Periaslav, Smolensk, and Suzdal, found itself in a similar situation. The diocese was erected in early 11th century. A stone cathedral dedicated to Archangel Michael, which was consecrated by metropolitan Ephrem in 1089, replaced an earlier wooden church. The cult of St. Michael as the patron saint of knights established itself in Ruthenian lands after Christianisation. The choice of patron for the Periaslav cathedral was not accidental. The surrounding lands, under constant threat from nomadic invaders, had their own bishop during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. Ruthenian sources which place the establishment of the Periaslav bishopric during the reign of Vladimir I, seem reliable. The bishopric could have been created concurrently with the building of a formidable fortified settlement after the victory over the Pechenegs in 992[18].

Both of the latter dioceses held the status of titular metropolises for a brief period. In a titular metropolis the bishop was raised to the rank of metropolitan temporarily or for the duration of his life. He had no suffragans and after his death his diocese reverted to its status as a regular bishopric within the metropolis it had previously belonged to. The position of a titular metropolis was similar to the legal status of autocephalic archbishoprics. In the 11th century the Byzantine emperor would commonly grant an honorary title of metropolitan to selected bishops for the duration of their life or a specified period of time, taking them out of the jurisdiction of their regular metropolis.

The rise of Chernihiv and Periaslav within church structures was politically motivated. After the death of Yaroslav the Wise in 1054 his son Izyaslav ascended to the throne of the senioral principality of Kiev. His other sons, Sviatoslav and Vsievolod received the principalities of Chernihiv and Periaslav, respectively. Yaroslav's three sons conducted a common foreign and military policy. The Byzantine emperor needed their aid in a war against the Cumans (Polovtsi) and Pechenegs. Therefore, granting metropolitan titles to local bishops served to improve their standing among the Ruthenian princes. The move was initiated by the Byzantines. In 1072 bishop Neophytus held the title of metropolitan of Chernihiv, while bishop Ephraim received in 1077 the title of metropolitan of Periaslav. Both promotions resulted from a specific political situation and lapsed upon the death of the two bishops in 1088 and 1100 respectively. By the end of the 11th century the Kiev metropolis yet again encom-

[17] *ПСРЛ*, т. I., Ленинград 1926-1928, kol. 150; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, p. 164.

[18] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 685-688; A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 1, pp. 382, 383; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, pp. 54, 55.

passed all of Kievan Rus'[19]. The Chernihiv bishopric included the lands of the Chernihiv and Siversk principalities, while the Periaslav bishopric covered the Periaslav principality[20].

The Polotsk diocese was probably created during the reign of Vladimir the Great, although the first sources mentioning it date to 1105[21]. Polotsk played an important political role in Ruthenia. Vladimir I named it as the residence of his oldest son Izyaslav, who died in 1001. This fortified settlement was governed by a dynasty originating with one of Vladimir's grandsons – Bryachislav. His son Vseslav built in Polotsk a church dedicated to the Holy Wisdom of God. The five-nave Chorch of St. Sophia was similar in style to its namesakes in Kiev and Novgorod. Its consecration signified Polotsk's ambitions to match the main political centres of Kievan Rus' in status. The very fact of its erection confirms that there must have been a local bishop there in the 11th century[22]. The Polotsk Eparchy included the lands controlled by Polotsk and Vitebsk. Its jurisdiction diminished along with the shrinking borders of the Polotsk principality[23].

The creation of a bishopric in Volodymyr in Volhynia is also attributed to Vladimir I. It is said to have been established at the end of the 10th century[24]. The oldest known consecration to the Volodymyr cathedral is that of Stephen in 1086, which is not to say that he was the first bishop of the diocese. The fact that Volodymyr had no stone cathedral until mid-12th century suggests that the diocese was probably established in mid-11th century. The 12th century church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary is reminiscent of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra. The bishops of Volodymyr held the title of proto-thronos and their cathedral was believed to be the oldest in the Halych metropolis[25]. Before it was divided halfway through the 12th century, the Volodymyr diocese included all of Volhynia, Polesia, including the fortified settlements in Brest, Slonim, Hrodna,

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[19] A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 2, pp. 557-572; cz. 3, p. 557-569; Idem, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 167-170.

[20] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. II, Москва 1995, p. 12; И. Чистович, *Очерк истории Западно-Русской Церкви*, ч. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1882, p. 146.

[21] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 334, 335; Г. Шейкин, *Полоцкая епархия*, Минск 1997, p. 5.

[22] Л. В. Алексеев, *Полоцкая земля. Очерки истории северной Белоруссии в IX-XIII вв.*, Москва 1966, p. 193-199; A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 2, pp. 559, 560; H. Łowmiański, *Geneza ziemi połockiej*, [in:] *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, seria 3, Warszawa 1968, pp. 7-24.

[23] И. Чистович, *Очерк истории Западно-Русской Церкви*, ч. 1, p. 146.

[24] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 660-671.

[25] П. Карашевич, *Очерки истории Православной Церкви на Волыни*, Санкт-Петербург 1855, p. 18; П. Н. Батюшков, *Волынь, историческия судьбы Юго-Западнаго края*, Санкт-Петербург 1888, p. 19; J. Fijałek, *Średniowieczne biskupstwa Kościoła wschodniego na Rusi i Litwie*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny", t. X, 1896, p. 494; t. XI, 1897, pp. 59-61; Н. И. Теодорович, *Историко-статистическое описание волынской епархии*, т. I, Почаев 1888, p. 15; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 175-179.

Vawkavysk, and Kobryn, the Bug river valley, including Mielnik, Cherven and Przemyśl Forts, as well as the upper Dniester river valley, including Halych. As new eparchies came into being, its jurisdiction shrank and by the end of the 13th century it included western and southern Volhynia (Volodymyr and Kremenets counties), as well as southern and middle Podlachia (lands surrounding Brest, Bielsk, and Drohiczyn)[26].



The Kiev Pechersk Lavra
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kiev_Pechersk_Lavra [access 2019.04.04]

Similarly to the Volodymyr diocese, the creation of the Rostov bishopric is traditionally attributed to Vladimir the Great[27]. Until 1073 the Rostov region was a part of the Periaslav principality and therefore a separate diocese could not have been created before that date. It was only the political separation of these lands from the principality that lay the foundation for the creation of a new

[26] П. Н. Батюшков, *Волынь, историческия судьбы Юго-Западнаго края*, p. 19; Н. И. Теодорович, *Город Владимир Волынской губернии в связи с историей Волынской иерархии: исторический очерк*, Почаев 1893, p. 26; A. Jabłonowski, *Ziemie ruskie, Wołyń i Podole*, Warszawa 1889, p. 103; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo...*, p. 281; A. Mironowicz, *Orthodox Centres and Organizations in Podlachia from the Mid-Sixteenth through the Seventeenth Century*, „Journal of Ukrainian Studies”, Edmonton 1994, no. 17 (Summer-Winter 1992), pp. 59-65; ibidem, *Владимиро-Брестская епархия до конца XVI века*, [в:] *Володимир-Волинська єпархія на рубежі тисячоліть. Матеріали Міжнародноі науково-практичної конференції 2012 р.*, Володимир-Волинський – Зимно 2013, pp. 8-20.
[27] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 677-679.

bishopric. The first bishop of Rostov was Leon, who died while conducting missionary work among the pagans. According to the *Life of Theodosius*, the second head of the diocese was Isaiah, hegumen of the Pechersk Lavra, who promoted the cult of Mary Theotokos and especially the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. After his death around 1093, the Rostov cathedral was incorporated into the Periaslav bishopric. The creation of the Rostov diocese, although it was supposed to strengthen church structures and facilitate the Christianisation of Ruthenia, resulted from agreements between princes made in the 1080s. A return to a political situation predating the division of the Periaslav principality lead to its demise. It was reactivated in the new political reality after 1136. In the second half of the 12th century its seat was moved to Suzdal and later to Vladimir-on-Klyazma[28].

Some historians believe that the erection of the Turov bishopric took place in 1005[29]. However, no sources date the creation of the diocese to the reign of Vladimir I. Turov was not even Sviatopolk I's capitol, which was located in Pinsk. Turov grew in importance under the reign of Kievan duke Vsievolod (1078-1093) when the Turov principality was granted to Sviatopolk II (in 1088). Raising the Turov land to the rank of a feudal principality facilitated the foundation of an independent bishopric. The political independence of Turov lead to its emancipation from under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Volodymyr and the establishment of the Turov diocese. The erection of a bishopric cathedral in Turov, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, indicates that the first bishop, similarly to many others, came from the Pechersk monastery[30]. Initially, the Turov eparchy included all of Polesia, or the former Pinsk-Turov principality. Later Turov princes temporarily governed areas if southern Podlachia and Black Rus'[31].

The Ruthenian church province had close ties to the archbishopric in Tmutarakan. This connection resulted from the political domination of Kievan

[28] Ibidem, pp. 697-698; A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 3, pp. 559, 560.
[29] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 324, 325; Я. Н. Щапов, *Туровские уставы XIV века о десятине*, „Археологический ежегодник" за 1964 г., Москва 1965, p. 255-258, 271-273; Я. Лабынцаў, *Старая казка Полесся*, Минск 1993, pp. 28, 29; A. Mironowicz, *Biskupstwo turowsko-pińskie w XI-XVI wieku*, Białystok 2011, pp. 50, 51.
[30] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. III, Москва 1996, p. 12; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 183-188; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, p. 57.
[31] Я. Н. Щапов, *Туровские уставы XIV века о десятине*, pp. 255, 256, 272; П. Ф. Лысенко, *Туровская земля IX–XIII вв*., Минск 1999; idem, *Древний Туров*, Минск 2004; А. С. Грушевский, *Очерк истории Туровско-Пинского Княжества в составе Литовско-Русского государства XIV-XVI вв*., "Киевские Университетские Известия", XLII, № 10, 1902 г., p. 98; A. Mironowicz, *Biskupstwo turowsko-pińskie w XI–XVI wieku*, pp. 64., 65; А. Миронович, *История Туровско-Пинской епархии (XI – конец XVI вв.)*, [в:] *Православие в духовной жизни Беларуси*, Брест 2012, pp. 7-9.

Rus' in these lands until the end of the 11th century, as well as the ordination of a Pechersk monk named Nicholas as the Tmutarakan archbishop[32]. The Tmutarakan bishopric never belonged to the Kievan metropolis. In the 10th and 11th centuries it was an autocephalic titular archbishopric answering directly to the patriarch of Constantinople. The political dominance of the Grand Duchy of Kiev had an indirect influence on the relations between eastern churches. The son of Vladimir I, Mstislav, founded in the 1020s a church dedicated to Mary Theotokos and in the 1070s Pechersk monks established a branch of their monastery in Tmutarakan[33].

As is indicated by this analysis, the Ruthenian church province in the 12th century consisted of 13 dioceses: the metropolitan diocese in Kiev and 12 suffragan dioceses. This includes the Smolensk and Halych bishoprics created in the 12th century, as well as the Rostov diocese reactivated in 1136 through the efforts of the prince of Smolensk Rostislav, son of Mstislav (1127-1159). Its status was based on the same rules as those underlying the existing Ruthenian bishoprics[34]. The Smolensk bishopric included the territories of the Smolensk principality and the Mstsislaw region[35]. The Halych diocese was separated out from the Volodymyr bishopric in 1147-1156. The *Hypatian Chronicle* mentions Kuzma, the first bishop of Halych, under 1164[36]. After 1190 the Ryazan bishopric was created, around the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, from parts of the Chernihiv diocese[37].

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[32] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 335, 336.

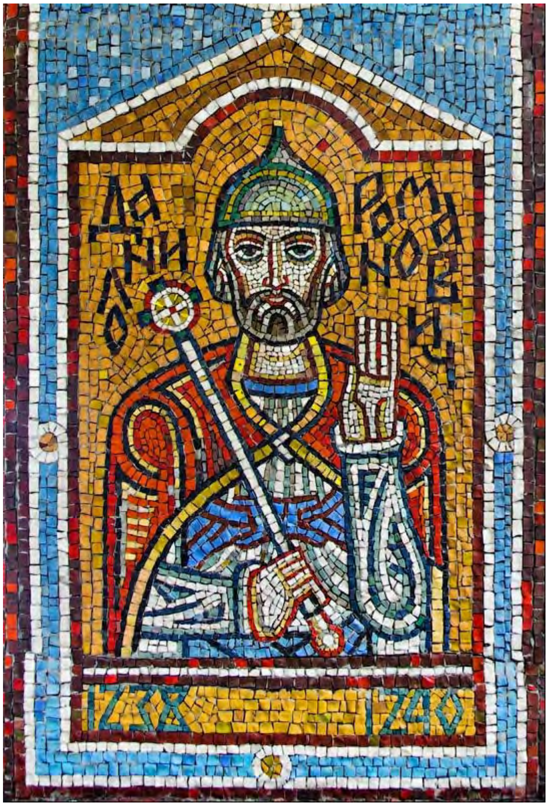
[33] A. Poppe, *Uwagi...*, cz. 3, pp. 557, 558; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura ...*, p. 58.

[34] Афанасий (Мартос), арх., *Беларусь в исторической, государственной и церковной жизни*, Буэнос-Айрес 1966, p. 70; A. Poppe, *Fundacja biskupstwa smoleńskiego*, „Przegląd Historyczny", t. LVII, 1966, z. 4, pp. 552-554; М. Ермалович, *Старажитная Беларусь*, Минск 1990, pp. 204, 205.

[35] Л. В. Алексеев, *Устав Ростислава Смоленского 1136 года и процесс феодализации Смоленской земли*, [in:] *Славяне в истории Европы*, Poznań 1974, p. 111.

[36] *ПСРЛ*, т. II, Санкт-Петербург 1843, p. 524; T. M. Trajdos, *Biskupi prawosławni w monarchii Jagiełły*, „Nasza Przeszłość", no. 66 (1986), p. 109; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, p. 53.

[37] A. Poppe, *Die Metropoliten und Fürsten der Kiever Rus'*, [in:] *G. Podskalsky, Christentum und theologische literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)*, München 1982, p. 281; A. Mironowicz, *Organizacja Kościoła prawosławnego na ziemiach ruskich w XI-XIII wieku*, [in:] *Ecclesia. Kultura. Potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, ed. P. Kras, A. Januszek, A. Nalewajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006 (2007), pp. 69-83.



Daniel Romanovych prince of Halych and Volhynia
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_of_Galicia [access 2019-04-04]

The 13th century saw the creation of further Orthodox bishoprics. The prince of Halych and Volhynia, Daniel, first erected a bishopric in Uhrusk in 1223, moving it to Chełm[38]. The Chełm diocese was formed from parts of the Volodymyr-Volhynia diocese. Initially, the eastern border of the Uhrusk eparchy reached the Bug river in the north and east. Its western border included the Lublin and Lukoml castellanies, which belonged to the feudal principality of Sandomierz. The diocese also included parts of the principalities of Chełm and Belz. The territorial development of Daniel Romanovych's state in the north lead to the joining of the south-Podlachian Chełm diocese with the principality of Drohiczyn and the land of Mielnik[39].

[38] П. Н. Батюшков, *Холмская Русь исторические судьбы русского зарубежья*, Санкт-Петербург 1887, p. 14, 38, 39; И. Чистович, *Очерк истории Западно-Русской Церкви*, ч. 1, p. 6; A. Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska do 1596 r.*, Lublin 1999, pp. 61, 65-68.
[39] Ibidem, pp. 101-111; A. Миронович, *Владимирская епархия до конца XVI века*, „Cerkiewny Wiestnik", Warszawa 2012, R. LIX, no. 4, pp. 54-64.

The division of the Rostov-Suzdal eparchy lead to the appearance of a Vladimir diocese based in Vladimir-on-Klyazma. Suzdal became the secondary residence for the Vladimir bishops[40]. Further political divisions in Rus' lead to the creation in 1219 of the Przemyśl diocese and Halych eparchy[41]. The Przemyśl diocese included the lands of Przemyśl and Sanok. The same reasons lead to the creation of a bishopric in Lutsk after 1235[42], which was separated out from the Volodymyr-Volhynia diocese. The bishop resided at the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist at the Lutsk castle[43]. In 1250 a part of the Vladimir-on-Klyazma eparchy became the bishopric of Tver. The final Ruthenian diocese was created in the 13th century in Sarai, the capitol city of the Golden Horde. It was established in 1261 and its first diocesan was bishop Theognostus. The new eparchy included parts of the Ryazan diocese[44]. Finally, by the end of the 13th century, the Kiev metropolis included, alongside the metropolitan eparchy, 18 suffragan bishoprics.

The basis of the Orthodox church structure in Ruthenian lands was formed under the reign of Vladimir the Great, who elevated Christianity to the position of state religion. In his time a metropolis was established in Kiev, along with five suffragan bishops: in Bilhorod, Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernihiv, and Periaslav. The policy of church development was continued by Yaroslav the Wise. It was under his reign that the Yuriev diocese was established in the fourth decade of the 11th century, with its cathedral dedicated to St. George, the patron saint of knights.

Three to six suffragan bishops was the typical number for Byzantine metropolises. It is interesting that in the first stage of Christianisation cathedrals were established in Bilhorod, Chernihiv, and Periaslav, close to Kiev, and two further north in Polotsk and Chernihiv. This indicates that Vladimir I was not interested in covering the whole vast area of the Grand Duchy of Kiev. The bishoprics were placed in important political centres, which had trade relations with Byzantium and Christian communities. The Christianisation of elites was to be the first stage of expanding evangelism to townspeople. The diocesans, supported by local princes, retained their status as missionary bishops, and their missionary work concentrated mainly on local rural communities. Two of them,

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40 A. Poppe, *Die Metropoliten und Fürsten der Kiever Rus'*, p. 281.

41 И. Чистович, *Очерк истории Западно-Русской Церкви*, ч. 1, p. 186; M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596-1691. Studium historyczno-kanoniczne*, Warszawa 1982, p. 38.

42 П. Н. Батюшков, *Волынь, историческия судьбы Юго-Западнаго края*, p. 24; Н. И. Теодорович, *Город Владимир Волынской губернии в связи с историей Волынской иерархии: исторический очерк*, p. 26; И. Чистович, *Очерк истории Западно-Русской Церкви*, ч. 1, p. 7.

43 P. Zajączkowski, *Wołyń pod panowaniem Litwy*, Równe 1931, p. 8.

44 A. Poppe, *Die Metropoliten und Fürsten der Kiever Rus'*, p. 281.

the bishop of Novgorod Theodor and the bishop of Rostov Leon, were murdered by pagans[45].

The first bishops were of Greek origin, did not speak the Slavonic language, and did not understand the political reality of Rus'. The main burden of Christianisation fell on Slavic (Bulgarian and Ruthenian) clergy, as well as the princes and nobles founding numerous churches in Ruthenian towns and castles. In the first half of the 11th century the role of the bishops was limited to matters of canon (ordaining priests, observing the correctness of rituals, safeguarding the tenets of the faith). Their importance grew after the bishopric cathedrals obtained more Ruthenian clergymen. Ruthenian bishops in the second half of the 11th century came to the forefront of Christianisation in the Grand Duchy of Kiev.

It is worth pointing out here the dedications of bishopric cathedrals. Three of the churches erected by the end of the 10th century in Kiev, Novgorod, and Polotsk, were dedicated to Sophia, the Holy Wisdom. The latter two wanted to match Kiev's political importance and stress their independence of the capitol. Cathedrals that were closer to Kiev were dedicated to the Twelve Apostles in Bielhorod and to Christ the Saviour in Chernihiv. Both dedications were a symbol of the unity of Ruthenian lands. In the southern regions of the state two cathedrals were founded: in Periaslav, dedicated to Michael the Archangel, and in Yuriev, dedicated to St. George. Both patron saints were supposed to protect the newly Christianised lands from pagans. The cathedrals built in the 11th century in Rostov, Volodymyr, and Turov were dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. The cult of Mary Theotokos, spread by monks from the Pechersk monastery resulted from the fact that the first bishops of these dioceses were hegumens of this monastery.

The territories of the individual dioceses only began to take shape in the second half of the 11th century, as a result of political and administrative divisions of Ruthenian lands and the growing importance of local centres. The formation of diocese structures was expedited by the creation of titular metropolises in Chernihiv and Periaslav. The titular metropolises were not much smaller than the Kiev archdiocese. The death of the ordinaries holding the titles of metropolitan of Chernihiv and Periaslav put a stop to the risk of partition of the Ruthenian church province – the Kievan metropolis. Political divides between Ruthenian princes and the policy of developing church structures pursued by metropolitan John II lead to the creation of new eparchies centred around Rostov (1073-1076), Volodymyr (1078-1086), and Turov (ca. 1088). The range of these new dioceses was a reflection of the divisions resulting from feudal politics. Ruthenian princes believed that bishopric cathedrals improved their political standing and stressed their principality's independence of Kiev. This politi-

[45] *Pateryk Kijowsko-Pieczerski czyli opowieści o świętych ojcach w pieczarach kijowskich położonych*, opr. L. Nodzyńska, Wrocław 1993, p. 172, 199.

cal attitude was supported by the Kiev metropolitans, who saw in the creation of new dioceses and decreasing the territories of existing bishoprics a way of reducing the influence of individual suffragan bishops and preserving the unity of the Ruthenian church province[46].

Based on the territorial reach of the feudal principalities Andrzej Poppe drew out the borders of the individual dioceses as of the end of the 11th century. According to his findings, the metropolitan diocese along with the Bielhorod and Yuriev bishoprics were located in the senioral principality of Kiev (central Dnieper Ukraine and the Boh river valley). The Chernihiv bishopric fit within the borders of the Chernihiv principality (east, up to the Don and Oka river Valleys). The Periaslav diocese included the lands of Periaslav, Smolensk, Rostov, and Suzdal. The borders of the Polotsk eparchy followed those of the Polotsk principality. The Volodymyr bishopric initially included the areas of Volhynia, Polesia, and the Dniester river valley. After the establishment of the Turov eparchy Polesia with Brest and Pinsk were incorporated into the new diocese[47].

The Ruthenian dioceses were divided into governorships, which was a call-back to the old-Ruthenian system of administration with governors (called *posadnik* in Slavonic), who would oversee various areas of the Duchy. The office of a bishop's governor did not have its equivalent in the Byzantine church[48]. A governor overseeing an area at the bishop's behest had presbyters to help him, who formed the *kliros*, an administrative and judicial council. A governor's *kliros* was similar to the one which aided bishops in governing the diocese, but with limited competences.

The Grand Duchy of Kiev, inhabited by 6 million people, by the end of the 11th century had only 10 dioceses, while a comparable area of Byzantium, inhabited by 20 million people, had almost a thousand of them[49]. The low number of cathedrals (compared to Byzantium) influenced the social position of the bishops. The administrative divisions in the church were increasingly a reflection of the political divisions between Ruthenian principalities. In the 12th century a bishopric appeared in almost every feudal principality, the rulers of which became in the 12th-15th centuries the initiators of erecting new dioceses, for reasons of politics and prestige.

The church in the Kievan Rus' became an integral part of the state organisation. The Christianisation of Ruthenian lands could only be done with the aid of the state. The Ruthenian church, similarly to its Byzantine counterpart, was

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[46] A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 198-201.
[47] Ibidem, pp. 202, 203.
[48] Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, p. 333-388; A. Mironowicz, *Specyfika życia monastycznego w Europie Wschodniej*, „Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski", № 1, Olsztyn 2010, pp. 225-241.
[49] H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, t. I, Warszawa 1963, pp. 340-348; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 204, 205.

directly connected to the state. The Kievan duke wanted more than just to consolidate the state and society using the church. Christianity also served to strengthen the existing social structures and opened the possibilities of cultural and intellectual development to all the people of the Grand Duchy of Kiev. The alliance between church and state had its roots in the apostolic rules known since the 9th century in Slavonic translation. The first stated that princely power was ordained by God and subjects should obey their lord. The second indicated that one should be absolutely obedient to God and the teachings of the Church. Disobedience towards the ruler could only be justified if his orders ran counter to those teachings. Ruthenian princes tried to follow the teachings of the church and therefore were described by the church writers of the time as *christolubiwy* (beloved of Christ), *prawowierny* (law-abiding), or *błagowierny* (faithful). These descriptions were often honest, as the Ruthenian elites became responsible for missionary work. Princes and nobles founded churches and monasteries, granted them lands, and defended against a return to paganism.



Orthodox dioceses of the end of the 11th century

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The divine origin of princely authority is a frequent motif in 11th-century Ruthenian writing, such as the *Primary Chronicle*. The church hierarchy saw preservation of religious dogma and following holy canons as parts of the rulers' obligations. This allowed metropolitan Hilarion to develop a model of harmonious coexistence between the church and state outlined in *Sermon on Law and Grace*. As part of this relationship, the prince is obligated to care for the unity and purity of the church. As it developed in Ruthenian lands, church writing, inspired by Byzantine literature, granted the prince power over the church, while trying to preserve the position of church hierarchy. While granting broad powers to the prince, with the aim of spreading the faith in Christ and God's law, the church reserved for itself the right to admonish and oversee the lay authorities on issues of morality[50]. The Ruthenian church was far from being an independent political force. The association between the interests of the church and the state lead to the church becoming an integral part of the polity.

Even though the Ruthenian church province was initially headed by Greek metropolitans, the main burden of Christianisation fell to the Ruthenian clergy, which gave rise to many outstanding bishops and hegumens dedicated to spreading Christian ideology among the people of the Grand Duchy of Kiev. The Ruthenian church had a significant influence on the transformation of state structures. In the 12th century, when the Grand Duchy of Kiev transformed into a loose federation of independent feudal principalities, the Ruthenian church was the only guardian of its unity. It also left a permanent impression on the changing social, economic, and political structures of the country. It was particularly important in raising the civilizational level of this part of Europe, spreading education and culture among its people.

The legal basis for the operations of the Orthodox church in Ruthenian lands was formed by the *Statutes* issued by Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, which established the relationship between church and state. The *Statutes* specified the legal prerogatives of the clergy, the jurisdiction of the church judiciary, and the church's sources of income in the form of tithes and land grants[51].

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[50] A. Kempfi, *O XI-wiecznym metropolicie kijowskim Hilarionie i Hilarionowym „Słowie o Zakonie i Łasce”*, „Rocznik Teologiczny”, R. XXIX, Warszawa 1987, no. 2, pp. 141-167; A. Poppe, *Przyjęcie chrześcijaństwa na Rusi w opiniach XI wieku*, pp. 99-101; W. Hryniewicz, *Chrystus zmartwychwstał*, pp. 92-101.

[51] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви*, т. I, ч. 1, pp. 399-409; Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. II, Москва 1995, pp. 251-261; М. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, т. III, Київ 1905, pp. 284-290; Б. Флория, *Отношения государства и церкви у восточных и западных славян*, Москва 1992, pp. 5-50; H. Kowalska, *Kultura staroruska XI-XVI w. Tradycja i zmiana*, Kraków 1998, pp. 117-144; G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, pp. 59-68; A. Mironowicz, *Znaczenie chrztu Rusi w ewangelizacji Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, „Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej”, vol. IV: *Kalendarz w życiu Cerkwi i wspólnoty*, ed. M. Kuczyńska i U. Pawluczuk, Białystok 2013, pp. 7-26.

Based on these acts, it can be stated that the church was guaranteed judicial and property immunities. In the second half of the 11th century the church already had its own judiciary. However, this judiciary did not have complete jurisdiction over the clergy, who were summoned in front of the Duke's courts in civil cases.

In the early stage of Christianisation, the income of the church was dependant on the generosity of the rulers. Nobles and princes were the founders of temples and supported the church financially, dedicating a part of their income in coin and in kind. Material support, providing for the needs of the clergy, was also granted in the form of tithes on some of the prince's income, to be given to a bishop, clergy, church, or monastery. Tithes formed the majority of the clergy's income until the end of the 12th century, but lost importance in later centuries and started disappearing. Church tithes in Ruthenian lands were not obligatory, but became a traditional form of financial support of newly founded churches. It was treated as a moral obligation, not as a legal one. The clergy also saw it as a voluntary donation[52]. The church only gained permanent sources of income through land grants, which were supplemented by donations from nobles in the form of gardens, residences, and meadows. As Christianisation progressed, new sources of income appeared, such as gifts and occasional services from the faithful, payments for sacraments, fines, and donations from pilgrims.

Ever since the Kievan Rus' accepted Christianity, a symbiosis existed between the state and the church. Representatives of the church participated in political life and exerted influence over various areas of state activity. The clergy's growth in importance to the state was caused by the ceremony of princes kissing the cross as they made oaths. This was a ceremonial act, confirming that the clergy had become the moral guarantor of treaties between princes. The participation of the church in politics grew as the Duke's power diminished and feudal fragmentation of the state increased. The idea of Ruthenian unity, embodied thus far in the Grand Duke, was taken up in the 13th century by Orthodox clergy. The people as well understood the role of church structures in preserving national unity.

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Monasteries played a special role in this process. They influenced state politics. Monks enjoyed an unquestioning authority among rulers and the faithful. In newly Christianised territories, especially in Ruthenian lands, monasteries were founded before official church structures formed. Monastic life in the Kievan Rus' developed alongside broader church structures and monasteries served to accelerate the formation of these structures. Their founders were often known as *swiatitiele* – "enlighteners".

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[52] A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.*, pp. 210-218.

The people of the Grand Duchy of Kiev, having accepted the heritage of Byzantine Christianity copied its monastic structures. There were two forms of monastic life represented by middle-eastern anchorites and coenobites. The anchorites lived alone and only contacted the world from necessity. Coenobites on the other hand formed communities based in communal prayer and physical labour, which were led by a head monk selected from among the congregation, known as the hegumen in Ruthenian monasteries, or archimandrite in larger monastic centres. In Ruthenian lands the monasteries were the main centres of religious life, a foundation of church structures. Much of the church's hierarchy was formed by monks. Monasteries were important cultural and educational centres, forming the moral attitudes of the faithful.

Two monastic centres had a particularly strong influence: the Studios monastery in Constantinople, which is named after St. Theodore Studios, and Holy Mount Athos in the Chalcedon Peninsula. The presence of monks in the Ruthenian state can be dated to 988, when most of the clergy arriving from Byzantium were hieromonks – monks ordained as priests. In his *Sermon on Law and Grace* metropolitan of Kiev Hilarion informed of the existence of monasteries in Rus' as early as during the reign of Vladimir I, while the German chronicler Thietmar mentioned that a Saint Sophia monastery existed at the time, which burned down in 1017[53]. The first Ruthenian monks were hermits who lived in caves on the banks of the Dnieper river. It was only during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise that a monastery was created, which was for many centuries at the forefront of monastic life in Rus'. Monasticism in Kievan Rus' was expressed in two primary forms. Alongside monasteries founded by the duke and nobles monastic, centres appeared surrounding individual spiritual leaders. The creation and development of the Pechersk monastery exemplifies the evolution of monastic life – from its early hermitic beginnings to an organisation following the Byzantine example.

The Kiev-Pechersk monastery was founded by a monk by the name of Anthony in 1051. The founder of the monastery hailed from Liubech, a fortified settlement on the river Dnieper near Chernihiv. Anthony had taken his vows on Mount Athos, where the hagumen ordered him to return to Rus' with the prophecy that "many a monk shall come of you"[54]. Anthony settled in a cave he had dug in a hill near Kiev. Monks who would come to join him followed his example and led an austere ascetic life. When their number reached one hundred, Anthony chose a hegumen from among them in ca 1051, while he himself moved to a newly dug cave, retaining spiritual oversight of the community[55].

[53] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. II, pp. 101, 102.
[54] Ibidem, pp. 146, 147.
[55] *Pateryk...*, p. 15.



St. Anthony of the Pechersk monastery
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_of_Kiev [access 2019.04.04]



St. Theodosius – hegumen of the Pechersk monastery
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodosius_of_Kiev [access 2019.04.04]

The first hegumen of the Pechersk monastery was a monk by the name of Barlaam, who built a small church overlooking the cave, dedicated to the Dormition of Mary Theotokos[56]. Soon other buildings were erected above ground, which were the beginning of a vast monastic centre. According to Nestor, the monks moved to the newly built monastery in 1062[57]. A new chapter in the history of the monastery opened under the hegumeny of Theodosius, one of Anthony's disciples, who introduced the Studite rule in the monastery[58]. He also initiated work on the church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, which was continued by his successor, hegumen Stephen and completed on 3rd July 1077. The church was surrounded by new monastery buildings, where most of the monks moved. The building complex was encircled with a wall. The development of the Pechersk monastery continued undisturbed until 1096, when it was sacked by the Cumans. However, this did not pose a significant threat to the continued existence of the Pechersk monastery. During the time of hegumen Teoctist in 1108 a new church was completed and the number of monks reached 180[59]. Many outstanding individuals hailed from the Pechersk monastery, like Iziaslav, the future bishop of Rostov, Stephen, the bishop of Volodymyr, and the chronicler Nestor[60].

The rise of Pechersk added to the development of monastic life in Kievan Rus'. By the time of the Mongol invasion in 1240 there were sixteen monasteries in Kiev alone: the St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki monastery established ca 1057 by prince Iziaslav; the St. George monastery (post 1037); the St. Irene monastery (post 1037); the St. Nicholas monastery (between 1050 and 1060); the St. Menas monastery (ca 1060); the St. Michael the Archangel monastery founded ca 1070 by prince Vsievolod Yaroslavovitch; the monastery of Christ the Saviour (ca 1072); the St. Simeon monastery founded by prince Sviatoslav Yaroslavovitch (1073-1076); the St. Andrew monastery founded by prince Vsievolod Yaroslavovitch (1086); the monastery of the Deposition of the Robe established by Stephen the monk (1096); the St. Lazarus monastery (ca 1113); the St. Fiodor Monastery founded by Mstislav of Volodymyr (1128); the St. Cyril monastery founded by prince Vsievolod (ca 1146); the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (before 1147); the St. Basil the Great monastery (before 1231); and the monastery of the Resurrection (before 1231)[61].

The first monastery in the northern Ruthenian lands was established in Novgorod in 1117 and dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

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[56] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви,* кн. II, pp. 151, 153, 154.
[57] Ibidem, pp. 154, 155.
[58] Ibidem, pp. 157, 158.
[59] Ibidem, pp. 166-168; See: G. Podskalsky, *Chrześcijaństwo i literatura...*, pp. 78-86; *Монастыри. Энциклопедический справочник. Русская православная церковь*. Издательство Московской Патриархии, Москва 2000, pp. 305-312.
[60] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви,* кн. II, p. 161.
[61] Ibidem, pp. 170-172, 668-674.

By the middle of the 13th century sixteen more monasteries were created in Novgorod: the St. George monastery (1119), the St. Pantaleon monastery (1134), the monastery of the Resurrection (1136), the St. Barbara monastery (1138), the monastery of the Intercession of the Mother of God (1148), the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (1153), the Pentecost monastery (ca 1162), the monastery of the Annunciation (1170), the monastery of St. John the Baptist (1179), the Khutyn Monastery of Saviour's Transfiguration (1192), the St. Nicholas monastery (1197), the St. Euphemia monastery (1197), the monastery of St. Clement of Alexandria (ca 1196), and the monastery of St. Paul the Patriarch of Constantinople (1238)[62]. The monasteries in and near Novgorod were founded by a variety of benefactors. The Khutyn Monastery of Saviour's Transfiguration was founded in 1198 by prince Yaroslav of Volodymyr, son of Vsievolod the Big Nest[63], who also founded the convent of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Novgorod in 1199. The bishops of Novgorod participated in the erection of two monasteries. Archbishop John established the monastery of the Annunciation in 1170, while bishop Mercurius founded the St. Nicholas monastery in 1197. Many of the monasteries were created by the monks themselves. The monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in Novgorod was established by hegumen Arcadius in 1153. Another monastery, dedicated to the Saviour's Transfiguration and located near Novgorod, started with Barlaam the monk in 1192. Many monasteries were founded by nobles[64].

The first monastery to arise in the Smolensk area (in 1138) was dedicated to the passion-bearers Boris and Gleb[65]. The founder of monasticism in the Smolensk region was Abram the monk. His 12th-century deeds played a role similar to that of Saints Anthony and Theodosius in Kiev. Monastic life in the Smolensk region concentrated in a few monasteries: of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (12th/13th century), of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (12th/13th

[62] Ibidem, pp. 173, 174, 668-671.
[63] Ibidem, pp. 317, 318.
[64] Ibidem, pp. 318-320; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów*, Białystok 2003, pp. 70-73; В. В. Зверинский, *Материал для историко-топографического исследования о православных монастырях в Российской империи*, кн. 3, Санкт-Петербург 1897; Арсений, епископ Каширский [Денисов], *Православные монастыри Российской империи: Полный список всех 1105 ныне существующих в 75 губерниях и областях России*, Санкт Петербург 2007; Л. И. Денисов, *Православные монастыри Российской империи. Полный список всех 1105 ныне существующих в 75 губерниях и областях России (и 2 иностранных государствах) мужских и женских монастырей, архиерейских домов и женских общин*, сост. Л. И. Денисов, Москва 1908; *Православные русские обители. Полное иллюстрированное описание всех православных русских монастырей в Российской империи*, Санкт-Петербург 1910; *Православные русские обители*, Санкт-Петербург 1994.
[65] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. II, pp. 174, 175.

century), of the Deposition of the Robe of Holy Mary Theotokos (early 13th century)[66].

Monastic life in Polotsk is associated with St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk, daughter of the prince of Polotsk Sviatopolk – George. At the age of twelve the princess decided to join her aunt's convent. Afterwards, having obtained the permission from the bishop of Polotsk, Elias, Euphrosyne founded (ca 1125) a convent dedicated to Christ the Saviour in Seltse, a settlement just outside of Polotsk. She also inspired to creation of the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (ca 1125). In early 13th century another monastery was founded in Polotsk, dedicated to saints Boris and Gleb[67].



St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euphrosyne_of_Polotsk [access 2019.04.04]

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[66] Ibidem, pp. 314, 315, 668-671.

[67] Ibidem, p. 316; *Жития Святых*, Сост. монахиней Таисией, т. I, New York 1983, pp. 243-245; A. A. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, Минск 1992, pp. 25-40; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, [in:] *Wilno i kresy północno-wschodnie*, t. I, *Historia i ludzkie losy*, ed. E. Feliksiak i A. Mironowicza, Białystok 1996, pp. 81, 82.

Apart from the aforementioned monasteries, new ones were founded in Ruthenian lands post 1240. There were seven monasteries in Vladimir on Klyazma: the Bogolyubovo monastery of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (established ca 1160) and monasteries dedicated to: Christ the Saviour (1164), the Ascension of Jesus Christ (1187), the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1190), the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin Mary (end of 12th century), Saints Constantine and Helena (12th/13th century), and St. Theodore (12th/13th century)[68]. At the same time in Pskov there was a monastery dedicated to the Saviour's Transfiguration, founded in 1156, and St. John the Baptist, founded ca 1243[69]. Suzdal was the location of monasteries dedicated to St. Demetrius (established ca 1096) and the Deposition of the Robe (1207).

By the middle of the 13th century monasteries were known to exist in Periaslav (dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, established ca 1072), Chernihiv (one dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, established ca 1069, and another dedicated to Saints Boris and Gleb, established ca 1231), Volodymyr-Volynskyi (established in mid-11th century), Rostov (one dedicated to the Epiphany, established at the end of the 11th century, and another dedicated to St. Paul the Apostle, established ca 1200), Tmutarakan (dedicated to the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, established ca 1060), Halych (dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, established in 1189), Turov (dedicated to Saints Boris and Gleb, established in mid-12th century), Yaroslavl (dedicated to the Saviour's Transfiguration, established in 1216), Zhydachiv near Lutsk (dedicated to St. Nicholas, established ca 1227), Uhrusk (dedicated to the prophet Daniel, established ca 1230), in Staraya Ladoga (dedicated to St. George, established in early 13th century). Besides the aforementioned monasteries, there were about fifty others all over Ruthenian lands[70].

The source of Ruthenian monasticism – the Pechersk monastery – became the seat of an archimandrite. The title was granted to the head of the monastery by prince Andrey the Pious (*Bogolyubsky*) in 1159[71]. The damage caused by the devastation of the city during the internal struggle between Ruthenian princes, exacerbated by destruction brought about by the Tartars, halted further development of this most important monastic centre. The local populace still held the Pechersk monastery in high regard, but the centre of gravity of Ruthenian monasticism moved to the monastery of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Vladimir on Klyazma, the head of which received in 1320 the title of archimandrite[72]. The 14th century saw the second stage of development of Ruthenian monasticism.

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[68] Макарий (Булгаков) митрополит, *История Русской Церкви*, кн. II, pp. 311, 312, 671.
[69] Ibidem, pp. 320, 321.
[70] Ibidem, pp. 668-674; A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2001, pp. 73, 74.
[71] *Pateryk...*, p. 18.
[72] Ibidem, p. 19.

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Medieval icon of SS. Boris and Gleb (13th century)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris_and_Gleb [access 2019.04.04]

It is impossible the ignore the importance of the cult of the saints in a discussion of Ruthenian Christianity in the 10^{th} – 13^{th} centuries. Local saints have a particular role to play in the development of spirituality in a nation. The worship of the first Ruthenian saints was not only proof of the maturity of Christianity in Kievan Rus', but also an expression of Ruthenian religious and cultural identity. The first canonised saints were princes Boris and Gleb, whose Christian names were Roman and David. They were the younger sons of duke Vladimir I. Sviatopolk, who rose to power after 1015, fearing their potential claims to the throne, ordered them to be put to death. His victims included Boris, Gleb, and Sviatoslav, but only the former two became saints. Although they were not martyred for their faith, they displayed a Christian demeanour in the face of death. Both accepted their innocent deaths and gave themselves over, Christ-like, into the hands of their executioners. Boris and Gleb were canonised as saints in 1020, not as martyrs, but as *Strastoterptsy*, or Passion-Bearers[73]. This

[73] Г. П. Федотов, ***Святые Древней Руси (X–XVII вв..)***, New York 1959, pp. 18-31; *Жития Святых*, составлено монахиней Таисией, т. I, New York 1983, pp. 211-218; А. А. Мель-

gave rise to a new form of sainthood, especially prominent in Kievan Rus'. The moniker of Passion-Bearers was later given to princes: George Olgovitch of Kiev (+1147), Andrey the Pious (*Bogolyubsky*), Constantine of Murom (+1205), Michael son of Vsievolod of Chernihiv (+1246), and many others[74].

Nations give special worship to "isoapostles" (gr. *isoapostolos*), that is saints, who brought Christianity to them. In the Byzantine tradition this title is usually granted to the first missionaries in a given country, such as St. Nina in Georgia or Saints Cyril and Methodius in Slovakia. In Ruthenian lands this title is granted to princess Olga and duke Vladimir, who deserve it not due to their own sainthood, but their role in the Christianisation of their people. Hagiographers have often compared them to the Byzantine saints – empress Helena and emperor Constantine the Great. Their conversion was a gift of God to the people of Rus'. Their canonisation came relatively late, in 1240.[75]

Another group of early Ruthenian saints are the *podvizhniky*. This word describes clergymen and laymen who made a heroic spiritual-ascetic effort. This applies to mortification, prayer, struggle with temptation and evil. *Prepodobny* is a description applied to monks, who achieved sainthood and imitated Christ through their ascetism. When applied to the living, this term meant a venerable monk. These two terms were applied to Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk, as well as many other holy monks listed in the *Kiev Pechersk Paterikon*[76]. Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk were spiritual masters and examples for monks to follow. Both were canonised: Anthony after 1140 and Theodosius in 1108[77]. One of the first Ruthenian saints was a female *podvizhnik*, princess of Polotsk and founder of the Convent of Christ the Saviour, Euphrosyne. She was instrumental in the development of education and monasticism. She was canonised before 1187[78]. This group of saints also includes Martin (1120-1170), a monk from Turov, Barlaam (1172-1222), the founder of monasticism in the Smolensk region, ascetic and miracle-worker, Ephrem (late

ников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, Минск 1992, pp. 144-152; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 86, 87; И. Кологривов, *Очерки по Истории Русской Святости*, Brussels 1961, pp. 21-27; J. S. Gajek, *U początków świętości Rusi Kijowskiej*, [in:] *Chrystus zwyciężył. Wokół chrztu Rusi Kijowskiej*, ed. J. P. Gajka i W. Hryniewicza, Warszawa 1989, pp. 97-99.

[74] И. Кологривов, *Очерки по Истории Русской Святости*, pp. 21-28; Г. П. Федотов, *Святые Древней Руси (X-XVII вв..)*, pp. 72-94.

[75] И. Кологривов, *Очерки по Истории Русской Святости*, pp. 63-66; Е. Е. Голубинский, *История канонизации святых в русской церкви*, pp. 57, 63.

[76] Г. П. Федотов, *Святые Древней Руси (X–XVII вв..)*, pp. 32-60; *Pateryk...*, pp. 152-257.

[77] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История канонизации святых в русской церкви*, pp. 51, 60.

[78] *Жития Святых*, составлено монахиней Таисией, т. I, pp. 243-245; А. А. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, pp. 25-40; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 81, 82.

12th century – 1238) a hagiographer and orator from Smolensk, and Lithuanian princess Chartyna (early 13th century – 1281)[79].

Another group of saints is made up of bishops, who were raised to sainthood. In the Orthodox church tradition they are known as *swiatitiel* (which might be understood as “enlightener”) because of their pastoral work. They did not receive the recognition as saints only for heroic asceticism, but mainly for their services to the church. Many early *swiatitiele* hailed from among the monks of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra: St. Nikita – bishop of Novgorod (+1108), St. Stephen – bishop of Volodymyr-Volynskyi (+1094), St. Ephrem – bishop of Periaslav (+1110), St. Niphont – bishop of Novgorod (+1157), St. Constantine – bishop of Chernihiv (+1159), St. Laurentius – ordinary of the Turov diocese (+1194)[80]. These saints were appreciated for their missionary zeal, defence of the true faith, preaching, social involvement, caring for the sick and the poor.



St. Cyril of Turov
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirill_of_Turov [access 2019.04.04]

One of the most outstanding of these saints was St. Cyril of Turov, called the Old-Ruthenian Chrysostom, who left a rich collection of writings and sermons. His works have deep religious meaning and were directed to the elites of society in his day. Another canonised bishop of Turov was Laurentius (1182-1194)[81]. The *swiatitiel* category included also bishops: Menas (1105-1116),

[79] *Жития Святых*, составлено монахиней Таисией, т. II, pp. 79, 108, 109, 223, 245; Г. П. Федотов, ***С****вятые Древней Руси (X-XVII вв..)*, pp. 61-71; А. А. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, pp. 52-54, 91-101, 171-174; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 83-88.

[80] И. Кологривов, *Очерки по Истории Русской Святости*, pp. 75-84; Г. П. Федотов, ***С****вятые Древней Руси (X-XVII вв..)*, pp. 95-117.

[81] Й. Кологривов, *Очерки…*, pp. 75-84; Г. П. Федотов, *Святые древней Руси*, pp. 95-117; J. P. Gajek, *U początków świętości Rusi Kijowskiej*, pp. 101-103.

Dionisius (1166-1187), Ignatius (1197-1210), and Simon (1266-1289), who played a significant role in the spread of Christianity in the Polotsk area and contributed, through their educational and social activities, to the growing importance of the Orthodox church. St. Menas, the first ordinary of the Polotsk diocese, was the instigator of the construction of the Saint Sophia cathedral. Bishop Dionisius became famous as the founder of a number of monasteries and the instigator of the canonisation of St. Euphrosyne. St. Simon was known as the first bishop of Tver (1271-1289), a missionary, and the creator of the church of the Saviour's Transfiguration[82]. These saints were canonised before the Polotsk lands were incorporated into Lithuania.

Another category of saints consisted of pious (*blagoviernyi*) princes. Apart from Vladimir and Olga this group included those rulers who contributed to the development of Christianity and lead a life in accordance with the teachings of the Church. This group includes Rostislav, prince of Smolensk (1126-1168), who had a bishopric established in Smolensk (1136) and founded numerous churches and monasteries. Having risen to the throne of Grand Duke of Kiev (1159) he remained under the influence of the clergy and gained fame as the patron of the Orthodox Church. He was canonised as early as the end of the 12th century[83]. Two other princes of Smolensk fall into this category: Constantine (13th century) and Theodore (1240-1299), as well as prince Alexander Nevsky (1220-1263).

The first centuries of Christianity saw the canonisation of but a few martyrs, who died for their faith in Ruthenian lands. Apart from the aforementioned missionary bishops, Theodor of Novgorod and Leon of Rostov, who were murdered by the pagans[84], there was the legendary Mercurius of Smolensk – a holy knight, defender of Christianity, who died in a war against the Tartars in 1238. In the second half of the 13th century and in the 14th century, the cult of these traditionally Ruthenian categories of saints was replaced by the cult of martyrs for the faith, such as Elisha of Lauryshava (13th/14th century), the founder of the Lauryshava Monastery, and Saints Anthony, John, and Eustace of Vilnius (early 14th century – 1347), who contributed to the development of Christianity in Lithuania before 1386[85].

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[82] *Жития Святых*, составлено монахиней Таисией, т. I, pp. 95, 243-245; A. A. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси,* pp. 21-25, 41-43; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 79-81.

[83] *Жития Святых*, составлено монахиней Таисией, т. I, p. 154; A. A. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, pp. 69-73; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 84, 85; ibidem, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów,* Białystok 2003, pp. 74-77.

[84] *Pateryk...*, pp. 172, 199.

[85] *Жития святых Святителя Дмитрия Ростовского*, Книга 3. Ноябрь, Москва 1905, pp. 693-696; Книга 8. Апрель, Москва 1906, pp. 211-218; A. A. Мельников, *Путь непечален. Исторические свидетельства о святости Белой Руси*, pp. 69-73, 102-107, 140-152, 171-174; A. Mironowicz, *Święci w Kościele prawosławnym na Białorusi*, pp. 86-88;



Monastery of St. Elisha of Lauryshava
https://www.google.pl/search?q=Monastery+of+St.+Elisha+of+Lauryshava&tbm [access 2019.04.04]

The Ruthenian Church was organisationally and spiritually connected to the Orthodox community in the early Piast state. Therefore, an analysis of the situation of Polish Orthodox Christians has to include the aforementioned overview of the Ruthenian Church. Their position changed along with the organisational changes in the Orthodox Church, changes in relations between the Polish and Ruthenian states, and especially the alterations to the eastern border of Poland.

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ibidem, *500-letnia rocznica kanonizacji św. Elizeusza Ławryszowskiego na soborze w Wilnie w 1514 roku*, „ΕΛΠΙΣ”. Czasopismo Katedry Teologii Prawosławnej Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, R. XVII (XXVIII), z. 29 (42), Białystok 2015, pp. 37-42.

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АНИТА КЛЕХА

О княжне Софии Слуцкой в «Магнатах и сирота» Владислава Сырокомли[2]

Słowa kluczowe: Św. Zofia Słucka, Władysław Syrokomla
Keywords: St. Sophia Slutskaya, Vladislav Syrokomla

Streszczenie

O księżnej Zofii Słuckiej w „Możnowładcy i sierota" Władysława Syrokomli

Władysław Syrokomla (1823-1862) napisał dramat „Magnaci i sierota" w 1858 roku. Bohaterem dramatu była księżniczka Sofia ze Słucka (1586-1612). Spektakl o księżniczce słuckiej wystawiono w Wilnie, Krakowie, Poznaniu, Lublinie i Lwowie. Z jednej strony spektakl o Sofii Olelkowiczównie został powitany oklaskami i pozytywnym odbiorem, a z drugiej strony licznymi uwagami krytycznymi.

Abstract

About Princess Sophia Slutskaya in "Lords and Orphan" by Vladislav Syrokomli

Vladislav Syrokomlya (1823-1862) wrote the drama "Lords and Orphan" in 1858. The protagonist of the drama is Princess Sofia of Slutsk (1586-1612). The performance about the Slutsk princess was staged in Vilnius, Krakow, Poznan, Lublin, Lviv. On the one hand, the play about Sofia Yuryevna Olelkovich was greeted with applause and a positive reception, and on the other hand, with numerous criticisms.

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Интерес к рассказам, представляющим жизнь женщин в предыдущих эпохах, процветает в нынешнее время. В польской, белорусской, литовской литературе отмечается поворот к истории Великого княжества Литовского и традиции Киевской Руси. Тематика Восточных кресов Речи Посполитой упоминается в художественной, научной и научно-популярной литературах. Одна из причин вызванного интереса к истории этой территори – археологические находки, датированные периодом существования этих государств[3]. За последнее десятилетие польские, белорусские и литовские исследователи прилагают усилия для обогащения знаний о родах, испольнивших важную роль в истории упомянутых народов. Литературные способы представления княжной Слуцкой Софии Юрьевыны Олелькович, а также ее место в культуре, подходят к исследованиям темы женщин бывшых территорий Речи Посполитой[4].

Многие историки, литераторы, этнографы, художники-живописцы, родившиеся, похоже Владиславу Сырокомле (Людвику Кондратовичу), на территори Беларуси, создавали образ литературного героя о мультикультурных корнях. С более-менее XIX века Кресы стали тождественным пространством многих культур. Согласно Станиславу Уляшу, фраза «Кресы – община общин» обозначает, что на этой территори соприкасались «кресы кресов», значит «окраины окраин», – литовские, татарские, караимские, евейские, белорусские, польские, украинские[5]. Благодаря совместному историческому и культурному опыту людей из этой территории литература и искусство польско-белорусско-литовско-украинскоязычные предоставляли многие свидетельства совместого прошлого. Героями восточно-пограничной литературы были персонажи о многонациональных корнях – польско-литовско-русских. Женщины-героини – это чаще всего матери, жены и дочери, родившиеся в дворянских усадьбах. Литературный силуэт Софии Юрьевыны Олелькович, как одной из этих многих женщин из приграничных районов, сыграл аналогичную роль. София явилась превосходной литературной героиней – для того стоит учесть следующие факторы: девушка осиротела в раннем детстве, она происходила из известного древнерусского княжеского рода Олельковичей

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[3] Э. М. Загорульский, *Археология Беларуси*, Минск 2001; *Археологическое наследие Беларуси. Archaeological Heritage of Belarus*, ред. А. А. Коваленя, Мінск 2012; П. Кенько, *Поясная гарнитура с территории Беларуси (I–XIII вв.). Свод археологических источников*, Минск 2012.

[4] В последнее годы много книг затрагивает тему женщины, м. пр. J. Besala, *Polskie królowe*, Warszawa 2014; K. Janicki, *Damy złotego wieku*, Kraków 2014; I. Kienzler, *Tajemnice alkowy polskich królowych i księżniczek*, Warszawa 2015; M. A. Koprowski, *Kobiety kresowe*, Poznań 2015; M. Jastrzębska, *Panie kresowych siedzib*, Łomianki 2016.

[5] S. Uliasz, *O literaturze kresów i pograniczu kultur. Rozprawy i szkice*, Rzeszów 2001, c. 30-35; B. Hadaczek, *Historia literatury kresowej*, Szczecin 2008.

чей-Слуцких, была наследницей невероятного имущества, героиней известной распри, которая, едва ли не привела к гражданской войне в Вильнюсе в 1600 году, и, наконец как святая православна женщина, она проживала в период религиозного конфликта между православными и католиками. После публикации исторического романа о княжной Слуцкой Юзефом Игнатием Крашевским, а затем Юзефиной Осиповской, настало время «деревенского лирника»[6].

Сочиняя „Магнатов и сироту”, Владислав Сырокомля, возможно, что не ожидал иронического оттенка критики, адресованной спешно созданному им персонажу Слуцкой княгини. Тема женщины, поставленной перед моральной дилеммой – счастье одного-единственного человека против всеобщего счастья, – считалась неуместной и неправильно реализованной. Слова Софии Олелькович, адресованные ее возлюбленному, по словам современных литературных критиков, звучали словно как сработанный и банальный литературный прием.[7]

Владислав Сырокомля, связанный с Вильнюсом и Борейковщиной, а также Копыльщиной, как последний поэт поколения романтиков во время аннексии Польши россиянами, написал эту драму в 1858 году в течение еле десяти дней в бенефис актрисы Елены Киркоровой (1828-1900)[8], выступающей на сценах Вильнюса и Кракова. Артист создавал много пьес для вильнюсского театра. Некоторые из них получали критические отзывы, о чем было известно в артистических кругах: «Мы знаем,

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[6] J. I. Kraszewski, *Ostatnia z książąt słuckich: kronikę z czasów Zygmunta trzeciego*, Wilno 1841; J. Osipowska, *Zofia Ololkiewiczówna, księżniczka słucka. Powieść historyczna*, Warszawa 1842.

[7] „Ты мечта велика, Ты – мое счастье, ах, я несчастлива! Так я, ты, счастья на всегда лишены. Я умру в муках дома у Януша. На первом плане ведь мир моей страны”. В. Сырокомля, *Магнаты и сирота*, акт IV, сцена 7, с. 65-66. Драма Владислава Сырокомли упомянутая м. пр. в русских журналах: „Московские ведомости” 1859, 22 марта, № 70, лит. отд., с. 526-527; „Иллюстрация” 1859, № 75, с. 399; I. Kurant, *Polska literatura piękna od XVI w. do początku XX w. w wydawnictwach rosyjskich i radzieckich: bibliografia przekładów oraz literatury krytycznej w języku rosyjskim wydanych w latach 1711-1975*, т. 4, 1995, с. 292. Драмой Сырокомли *София. Княжна Слуцкая* располагал филолог, архивист, археолог Юзеф Пшиборовски (1823-1896). Его коллекция – пример набора книг девятнадцатилетнего историка литературы. Поэтому можно ожидать, что экземпляром драмы Сырокомли располагали также другие современные критики и историки литературы. J. Szocki, *Zbiory literackie i językoznawcze Józefa Przyborowskiego (1823-1896)*, „Prace naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie”, 1996, z. VI, с. 81.

[8] Настоящее имя и фамилия Петронела Майевская; F. Ramotowska, *Kirkorowa z Majewskich Petronela Helena (1828-1900)*, „Polski Słownik Biograficzny”, т. XII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1966-1967, с. 483-485.

как порой делано вред Монюшке и Сырокомле»[9]. Писатель был одним из самых близких советчиков и друзьей вильнюсского театра, рядом с Юзефом Игнатием Крашевским или первым супругом Елены Кирковой, Адамом Хонором Киркором. В Вильнюсе Владислав Сырокомля дружил с актером Болеславом Новиньским (умершим в 1867 году), который пользовался популярностью, исполнив титульную роль Каспара Карлиньского, а, позже, сыграв также в Магнатах и сироте. Это в виленском журнале «Athenaeum» дебютировал Владислав Сырокомля. В Вильнюсе он остался в 1857-1861 годах. В 1850 году он на несколько месяцев посетил Юзефа Игнатия Крашевского в Хубине, Волынь. С 1845 года и до самой смерти он вел с ним постоянную переписку[10].

Пьеса о Софии Юрьевне Олелькович была встречена аплодисментами и положительным критическим приемом, главным образом благодаря роли Елены Кирковой в главной роли княжной Слуцкой. Тесное знакомство Владислава Сырокомли с Хеленой Кирковой и ее влияние на писателя широко обсуждалось в современных художественных кругах[11]. Марья Эстрейхер (1876-1966), дочь Кароля Эстрейхера (1827-1908), «отца польской библиографии», писала, что в театральном сезоне 1858[9] Елена Киркорова была любимицей публики[12]. Актриса «даже в слабой драме смогла так сыграть свою роль, что зрители звали ее несколько раз на бис»[13]. Благодаря ее обоянию и незаурядному таланту Слуцкая княжна

[9] См. *Teatr polski na Litwie 1784-1906*, wyd. „Kurjera Litewskiego”, Wilno 1907, с. 79-87; A. Miller, *Teatr polski i muzyka na Litwie jako strażnice kultury zachodu (1745-1865): studjum z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Wilno 1936, с. 209.

[10] *Беларуская літаратура XVI-XX стст.*, рэд. Г. Твараноўіч, Беласток 2010, с. 79-80; I. Fedorowicz, *Nieznane listy Władysława Syrokomli*, „Slavistica Vilnensis”, Vilnius 2014.

[11] Близкий друг Владислава Сырокомли, Антони Петкевич (1823-1903), известный под псевдонимом Адам Плуг – поэт, романист, редактор, переводчик – ссылаясь на роман Сырокомли с Кирковой, он написал Паулине Вилконьской: «Что касается Сырокомли ... Несчастный безумец! Пусть Бог сделает чудо и спасет его от бездны, в которую он так слепо бросился!!!.». Письмо выслано из села Поток возле Винницы в Подольской губернии 4-ого листопада 1858 года.

[12] В феврале 1859 года в бенефис Елены Кирковой была поставлена *Княжна Слуцкая*. Пьеса была воспринята хорошо, особенно главная женская роль. Во львовском журнале «Dziennik Literacki» прозвучал также критический голос анонимного рецензента: «Игра актрисы однообразна, каждый персонаж, которого она выберет, одинаков». S. Kirkor, *Przeszłość umiera dwa razy: powieść prawdziwa*, Kraków 1978, rozdz. IV – *Syrokomla i Helena*, с. 45, 51; M. Estreicherówna, *Życie towarzyskie i obyczajowe Krakowa w latach 1848-1863*, Kraków 1968, с. 120-122.

[13] Актрисе предоставили театральный контракт в Кракове на зимний сезон 1859/60, но она не оставалась до конца. В начале 1860 года она покинула город. В то время Людвик Заревич купил у нее рукопись *Княжной Слуцкой*. Она отмечена вычерками австрийской цензуры и фамилиями актеров, вошедших в состав пьесы (примечание Л. Заревича в рукописи пьесы *Możnowładcy i sierota* Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkps 6064; S. Kirkor, *Przeszłość umiera…*, с. 53-54, 179). В это время роман Елены Кирковой и Владислава Сырокомли был совершенно окончен. Следует отметить, что цензоры

приобрела популярность. По поводу романа Владислава Сырокомли и Елены Кирковой литературный и сценический персонаж Софии Олелькович приобрел своеобразные черты.

Премьера пьесы о Слуцкой княжной состоялась 5 февраля 1859 года в Вильнюсе в Вильнюсском театре[14]. Спектакль был поставлен в Кракове 26 апреля 1859 года и 20 января 1863 года в Старом театре (Краковском театре). В Познани 24 мая 1859 года драма была поставлена Краковским театром[15] а в Люблине 14 сентября 1862 года – Драматическим обществом Павла Ратаевича[16]. Кроме того, драма Владислава Сырокомли была сыграна на львовской сцене 1 апреля 1867 года[17].

уделяли повышенное внимание текстам, содержащим по их мнению патриотическое содержание. В случае цензуры, введенной в драму Сырокомли, «Цензор оказался настоящим варваром, нечувствительным к эстетическим ценностям произведения». Этим цензором был Павел Кукольник (1795-1884), русский историк и поэт, профессор Императорского Виленского университета, вильнюсский цензор. Он удалил 43 стиха в тексте Сырокомли и радикально изменил три других строки. Эффектом этих изменений стало полное изменение смысла драмы. Новая версия не относилась м. пр. к свободам и совместной для народа веры предков. Вот пример: «Кароль, Если у тебя почет свобод и прав. Для наших предков той святой веры нрав. Текст после переделки цензором: Кароль, Если у тебя почет любви и прав. Для твоих предков той святой веры нрав.» B. Szyndler, *Dzieje cenzury w Polsce do 1918 roku*, Kraków 1993, с. 100.

[14] В вильнюсской копии драмы В. Сырокомли 1859 года (напечатанной С. Розенсоном и опубликованной Авраамом Ассом, опубликовавшим 11 произведений Сырокомли), автор включил посвящение: «Художники-драматурги Вильнюсского театра, сердечно благодарю вас за великолепный сюрприз, дня первого июня 1858 года посвящаю вам [пьесу] *Каспар Карлиньский* Вл. Сырокомля».

[15] K. Kurek, *Teatry polskie w Poznaniu w latach 1850-1875*, Poznań 2013; „Dziennik Poznański“ 1859, нр. 120.

[16] В Кракове пьеса В. Сырокомли была поставлена под названием *Магнаты и сирота, то есть София княгиня Слуцкая*. Рукопись театрального экземпляра находится в Ягеллонской библиотеке, а второй театральный экземпляр хранится в Библиотеке Рачиньских в Познани: DkT-4032; эта копия была опубликована в Познани в 1873 году, однако она не выделяется чем-то особенным, то есть не содержит никаких рукописных заметок или комментариев, касающихся постановки пьесы в Польском театре в Познани. Эта драма была опубликована в серии *Драмы* (*Dramata*) Людвиком Кондратовичем (том 5) вместе с *Сельскими политиками* (*Wiejscy politycy*) и *Приговором Яна Казимежа* (*Wyrok Jana Kazimierza*). К сожалению, ни в одной части нет никаких написанный на полях комментариев, заметок или чего-либо, связанного с постановкой пьесы в театре. Единственным элементом, связанным с театром, являются овальные печати с надписью «Польский театр в саду Потоцких. Познань» (этот театр существовал в Познани с 1875 года); информация получена благодаря госпоже Агнешке Башко, начальнику Отдела специальных коллекций в Библиотеке Рачиньских в Познани. *Dramat polski 1765-2005: przedstawienia, druki, archiwalia*, ред. St. Hałabuda, J. Michalik, A. Stafiej, т. 2, Warszawa 2014, с. 883 Репертуар Старого театра с 1781 по декабрь 2014 года находится в Цифровом музее Старого театра в Кракове. Драму В. Сырокомли можно было купить, между прочим, во Львове, она находилась в каталоге книг, которые можно выло взять из читального зала Кароля







Актриса Елена Киркорова (1828-1900)[18]
Рукопись «Магнатов и сироты», на первой строне заметка Заревича, акт I, сцена 1 драмы Владислава Сырокомли (BJ, rkps 6064)[19]

Вильда во Львове на Рыночной площади, на углу улицы Доминиканская (Филиал I, польские книги, Львов, 1870), а также в Варшаве в книжном магазине Эдуарда Колиньского на ул. Маршалковская 122 (Каталог *Новые книги доступны в книжном магазине Эдварда Колиньского в Варшаве ул. Маршалковская 122*, Варшава 1893; вильнюсское издание драмы 1859 года).

17 „Dziennik Literacki" 1867, нр. 15; „Gazeta Narodowa" 1867, нр. 77; „Dziennik Polski" 1867, нр. 9.

18 Фотография сделана около 1868 года, *База театральной иконографии* Ягеллонского университета.

19 Людвик Заревич писал: „Эту рукопись драмы Владислава Сырокомли «Дворяне и сирота (София княгиня Слуцкая)» я приобрел в Кракове 31 декабря 1859 года у

Изображение мира, в котором сосуществовали могучие семьи магнатов, среди которых была одинокая девочка-сирота, пытающаяся переодолеть многочисленные интриги, давало представление о сложном положении Слуцкой княгини. «Сиротство Софии в драме именно драматически активно»[20] – так заметным образом, что фигура княжной вышла на первый план, а другие герои совсем блекнут на ее фоне. Эта «драматическая активность» сиротства Софии Юрьевны проявлялась ее борьбой за достоинство и за возможность свободного принимания жизненных решений. Слуцкая княжна, без поддержки покойного отца и без присутствующей в ее воспитании матери, не стала боязливым и беззащитным человеком, напротив – сиротство, как это ни парадоксально, ободряло ее. Автор создал сильную личность, которая не соответствовала типичному образу сироты – беззащитного существа с трудом заботящегося о его существовании. Судьба была жестока для Софии Юрьевны Олелькович, но она прошла жизнь не без действенной борьбы и продолжала идти с поднятой головой. В сердце Софии Юрьевны родилось чувство для гетмана Яна Кароля Ходкевича, о чувстве котором мир не знал. Об этом удивительном объекте любви было написано: «Сырокомля добавил к этому историческому материалу счастливое измышление любви княжной Софии к Каролю Ходкевичу и сделал этот мотив главной темой драмы»[21].

госпожи Маевской (известной также как Киркорова), артистки краковской театральной сцены 1858 и 1859 годов, на несколько дней до ее выезда из Кракова. Она получила ее из рук самого автора, Владислава Сырокомли, который, несмотря на то, что был женат и что был отцом, имел с ней более тесные связи и в конце 1858 года, как мы знаем, он даже долгое время оставался в Кракове, а перед тем, как покинул этот город, оставил ей несколько ценных сувениров: его гипсовый бюст и фотографию, картину интерьера его мастерской маслом, несколько своих подручных крупнейших произведений, настоящую драму и л. п., которые она продала, выезжая из Кракова. Настоящая рукопись тем более интересна, что прошла цензуру австийских властей (о чем свидетельствует оригинальная заметка в конце книги соответсвующего учреждения), которая перечеркнула неодобренные места в рукописи, в следствие чего автор сделал различные изменения в рукописи разными чернилами. Л. Заревич”. Запись другим почерком: „Л. Заревич. Краковский гражданин умерший 1888 либо 1889”.

[20] M. Jonca, *Sierota w literaturze polskiej dla dzieci w XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1994, c. 164.

[21] A. Pług, *Książka dla uczczenia pięćdziesięcioletniej działalności literackiej J. I. Kraszewskiego*, Warszawa 1880, c. 195. Возможно, что любовь княжной к знаменитому вильнюсскому гетману была включена в сюжет целенаправленно. Гетман Ян Кароль Ходкевич был успешным военным, и после его смерти его заслуги оценил, между прочим, Мачей Казимеж Сарбевский в своей латинской поэзии, Вацлав Потоцкий в *Хотинской войне*, Юлиан Урсын Немцевич в «Исторических думах». Любовь Софии Юрьевны Олелькович, направленная на выдающегося исторического деятеля, могла быть представлена с целью вызвать волнение как у зрителей, так и у читателей, и добавить драматизма ко всей истории. Гетман был активным участником конфликта по поводу «последней ветви дома князей Слуцких», как Владислав Сырокомля знал, среди прочих из журнала «Athenaeum» своего друга Юзефа Игнатия Крашевского.

Княгиня призналась вильнюсскому гетману: „Люблю тебя давно! Как мою душу – твоя восхитила! Одни ангелы мои свидители, Как ты на войне, я здесь слёзы лила – Спроси у Божьей Пресвятой Матери!”.

Фигура Слуцкой княгини, созданная Владиславом Сырокомлей, излучала женственность, энергию и спонтанность. Однако писатель не забыл о религиозном аспекте жизни своей героини – София Юрьевна горячо молилась перед иконой Богородицы[22]. Однако, убедившись в превосходстве чувств над социальными ограничениями, она заверила своего любимого Кароля, что она не допустит до свадьбы с Янушем Радзивиллом. Благодаря пассивному отношению вильнюсского гетмана, его любимая София Олелкович вышла в произведении на первый план. Она твердо придерживалась своей позиции: „Ни одной приказ ведь мне не повелит; Жениться на том... кого сердце не ценит. Доныне слабой я и беззащитной; Внезапно стала зрелой я женщиной. У меня сила и сумею легко; Защитить права – вот, сироты такой. Не хочу Януша – гнушаюсь уродом; Пусть берут замки и манят мне доходом; Пусть жарко просят и мне угрожают; Пока сердце бьет – женой его не стану![23]

Способ мышления Слуцкой княжной коренным образом изменился, когда выяснилось, что ее решение будет иметь значительное влияние на историю Вильнюса. Вместе личного счастья с Яном Каролом Ходкевичом, она обрела связь лишенную любви, но заключенную на благо жителей Вильнюса и двух родов. В разгар суматохи, когда вооруженные силы рода Радзивиллов собрались у двора Ходкевичов, София Юрьевна без колебаний отделила разум от сферы эмоциональной; она отказалась от своей благоуспешности в пользу литовского народа. Позиция этой молодой женщины характеризовалась силой, смелостью, убеждением в правильности своего поступка; произошла метаморфоза: из неуровновешенной молодой девушки она превратилась в эмоционально зрелую женщину: „Слуцкая княжна пушок не боится; В развалинах стен зарыться готова. Да край страдает! Я также терплю боль; Что из-за меня страшный момент пришел. Скажи солдатам, пусть потушат огонь; Надеюсь сдержать ненависти бездонь”.[24]

C. K. Jankowski, *Bohaterowie polscy: Karol Chodkiewicz, Kazimierz Puławski, Ks. Józef poniatowski*, Warszawa 1907, c. 11-13.

[22] Культ Богородицы находил свое отражение в польской литературе: «Только падение Польши разбило сердце нации, боль пронзила ее всюду, и с тех пор лирика обогатилась множеством произведений, особенно национальными песнями. (...) Только по отношению к Богу, стране и семейной жизни поляк чувствовал себя индивидуально активным и мог свободно выражать свои чувства. По той причине появились многочисленные переводы псалмов и множество оригинальных религиозных песен, особенно в честь Богоматери, которая имеет особую честь в Польше». W. Cybulski, *Odczyty o poezyi polskiej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, т. I, Poznań 1870, c. 112-113.

[23] В. Сирокомля, *Магнаты и сирота*, акт IV, сцена 1, c. 52.

[24] Там же, c. 67.

Последняя из рода Олельковичей была указана как воплощение женщины, борющейся за свои права на свободу чувств, однако отказавшейся от этих прав ради более высоких ценностей. Слуцкая княжна не жаждала власти, славы либо богатства. В первой половине XVII века «жадные к власти» женщины подвергались жесткой критике на Западе и в Польше. Хотя им иногда оказывали некоторое уважение, это явление, все-таки, считалось опасным[25].

Рецензенты драмы Владислава Сырокомли были не такими лестными, как его зрители. Один из них, написав в «Варшавскую библиотеку» („Biblioteka Warszawska”), сказал об этой драме следующее: «Интересно, что к нашему отчетному столику попали две работы, отличающиеся [Магнаты и сирота] друг от друга по языку, и очень похожие по предмету, форме и эстетическому предположению, то есть: Ядвига польская королева», написанной немецкой принцессой Матильдой из аристократического рода Гогенлоэ (1814-1888, известна как М. Дорнхейм), управляющего княжеством Шварцбург-Зондершаузен. Он продолжил: «Героинями этих двух драм – женщины, польки; в обеих случаях форму героизма становит жертвование личной жизнью ради общего дела»[26]. Рецензент указал на неверное толкование темы: «Мы искренне сожалеем о каждом авторе, который намеревается представить этот факт в драматической форме с высокими историческими последствиями (...)». Он обосновал свою позицию следующим образом: «С исторической же точки зрения, поведение Ядвиги по крайней мере непонятно, и жертва представлена очень неустойчиво: следовательно эта жертва должна быть создана (...). Итак, у нас есть две Ядвиги: одна историческая, другая, так сказать, мифическая [София Олелькович]: поэтому поэт смотрит на другую и готов формировать ее по своему желанию». В драме о королеве Ядвиге автор «идеализирует победу над собственными чувствами в сердечной, долгой и обдуманной борьбе», в то время как Владиславом Сырокомлей было совершено «изнасилование чувств» его литературных героев. Рецензент прокомментировал: «Я не знаю, был бы ли Кароль Ходкевич очень благодарен за такую пассивную роль, которую автор назначил ему в своей драме»[27].

[25] M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI-XVIII wieku na tle porównawczym*, Warszawa 1998, с. 163.

[26] *Jadwiga królowa polska* (*Jadviga, Königin von Polen. Dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen*, Druck und Verlag von Eduard Hallberger), историческая драма Дорнхейма, Штутгарт 1857 г. – *Zofia księżniczka słucka, dramat historyczny z XVII wieku przez Władysława Syrokomlę,* Вильнюсь 1859; K. Kaszewski, „Biblioteka Warszawska”, с. 701-715.

[27] „Biblioteka Warszawska”, с. 707-715.



Кароль Круликовский (около 1815-1872) Барбара Линковская (около 1828-1891)
Юлян Вилкошевский (1834-1870)[28]

Жизнь на кресах создала иной образ женщины, чем в других регионах Речи Посполитой. Условия жизни на восточной границе привели в XVI и XVII веках к формированию отдельной модели женщины – «пограничной волчицы», воинственной, властной, физически сильной, участвующей в вооруженных действиях и способной взять на себя мужские обязанности во время вооруженного нападения[29]. Владислав Сырокомля не создал именно такого типа сильной женщины с чертами, похожими на «полесскую амазонку»; Софии Юрьевне не хватает кресовых черт. Она не носит доспехи. О физической силе на самом деле речи быть и не может, а все-таки ее изображение значительно отличается от модели женственности, созданной Юзефом Игнатием Крашевским и Юзефиной Осиповской. Литературный персонаж слуцкой княгини так или иначе сформировали тесные отношения автора с Еленой Киркоровой, близкие отношения с Юзефом Игнатием Крашевским и его сильный интерес к фольклору. Ее кресовые черты проявляются в создании сильного характера.

Тема, поднятая в драме Владислава Сырокомли, часто сводилась к нескольким словам: «гордость магнатов, бессилие прав, притеснение сироты30». Было отмечено, что сюжеты, поднятые в драме Магнаты и сирота, были «слишком популярными и слишком часто затрагиваемыми, чтобы они могли стать поэтичными, слишком неприятными, чтобы считать

[28] Актерский состав драмы В. Сырокомли был получен благодаря помощи начальника Отдела специальных коллекций Силезской библиотеки доктора Барбары Мареш. Фотографии актеров предоставлены Электронной энциклопедией Польского театра.

[29] E. Szczepkowska, *O kobiecej inności na Kresach*, „Media-Kultura-Komunikacja Społeczna”, Olsztyn 2012, нр. 8, с. 45-57; A. J. Rolle, *Niewiasty kresowe: opowiadania historyczne*, Warszawa 1883.

[30] A. Tyszyński, *Wizerunki polskie: zbiór szkiców literackich*, Warszawa 1875, с. 247-248; „Niewiasta. Belletristisches Journal”, нр. 4, 1863, ред. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, с. 31.

их как изображение красоты»[31]; тема страдания в литературе романтизма, по-видимому, упоминалась чрезмерно. Считалось также, что драмы Владислава Сырокомли были «по большей части промахами уже на уровне предположений, уже на уровне исполнения, скорее драматизированными, а не драматическими. Сам Кондратович признался, что у него не было таланта к творениям такого рода»[32]. Было упомянуто, что «Тот же неосознанный переход от идеала к карикатуре, который мы заметили у Софии Олелькович, произошел в „Старосте Копаницком" и других драмах». По мнению современных критиков, у Владислава Сырокомли была склонность слишком сильно раскрывать свои чувства, одновремененно уменьшая роль принципов писательского мастерства: «иногда темперамент преобладал над мастерством, дисциплиной и дрессировкой»[33]. В романе Дочь Пиастов, написанном им в 1855 году, героями были также литовцы, между которыми возник конфликт. Однако две нации помирились[34]. Критики утверждали, что эта идея достижения соглашения в Дочерях Пиастов была в Магнатах и сироте изображена карикатурно. Историк и лингвист Владислав Неринг (1830-1909) описал драму о Слуцкой княжной и Сельских политиках словами: „оба не имеют более высокой ценности"[35].

Несмотря на многочисленные критические замечания, спустя нескольких лет после премьеры Магнатов и сирот, в «Газете варшавской» с 21 февраля 1864 года, лестные слова читателей информировали о постановке драмы Владислава Сырокомли: «Самым интересным для общества сюжетом будет без сомнений раздор о брак со „Слуцкой Княжной", эта гражданская война, в которой „магнаты" и „сирота" становятся историческим зрелищем, а которое наши писатели-беллетристы несколько раз представили для читателей в стихах»[36].

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MARCIN MIRONOWICZ

Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries

Słowa kluczowe: Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools, The Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Keywords: Szkolnictwo bractw cerkiewnych, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie

Streszczenie

Szkolnictwo bractw cerkiewnych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI-XVIII wieku. Uwagi na ma marginesie książki *Szkolnictwo brackie na terenie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2019

Bractwa cerkiewne od samego początku swego istnienia za główny cel swojej działalności stawiały odnowienie życia intelektualnego duchowieństwa i wiernych Cerkwi prawosławnej. Rozwój oświaty brackiej przypadał na okres polemik i sporów religijnych oraz walki o zachowanie niezmienności dogmatów Kościoła. Szkolnictwo brackie miało przeciwstawić się naciskowi ideologicznemu katolików i przedstawicieli wyznań reformowanych. Stan wiedzy o szkolnictwie prawosławnym na terenie Rzeczypospolitej jest odbiciem ogólnego stanu badań nad dziejami Kościoła wschodniego. Zagadnienie rozwoju szkolnictwa prawosławnych bractw cerkiewnych nie zostało dotąd dostatecznie zbadane. O ile mamy wiele prac na temat szkół prowadzonych przez jezuitów i protestantów na terenie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku, to szkoły prowadzone przez prawosławne organizacje religijne są mało opracowane. Rozprawa ma więc w jakimś stopniu wypełnić lukę w historiografii polskiej. Jej tematem jest *Szkolnictwo brackie na terenie Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku*.

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Abstract

Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries. Notes on the book's margin *Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries,* Białystok 2019

From their very beginnings Orthodox church brotherhoods saw the renewal of intellectual life of the clergy and faithful of the Orthodox Church as their primary objective. Brotherhood-led educational efforts developed at a time of religious disputes and controversies, as well as a struggle to uphold church dogma. The purpose of brotherhood schools was to oppose ideological pressure from the Catholics and reformed denominations. The state of our knowledge about brotherhood-led education in the historical Polish Commonwealth is a reflection of the general state of the research into the history of the Eastern Church. The issue has not yet been thoroughly researched. Although there are many works about schools organised by the Jesuite order and protestants in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries, not much research has been done on schools governed by Orthodox religious organisations. Therefore, this thesis aims to at least partly fill this gap in Polish historical scholarship. Its subject is: *Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries.*

From their very beginnings Orthodox church brotherhoods saw the renewal of intellectual life of the clergy and faithful of the Orthodox Church as their primary objective. Brotherhood-led educational efforts developed at a time of religious disputes and controversies, as well as a struggle to uphold church dogma. The purpose of brotherhood schools was to oppose ideological pressure from the Catholics and reformed denominations. The state of our knowledge about brotherhood-led education in the historical Polish Commonwealth is a reflection of the general state of the research into the history of the Eastern Church. The issue has not yet been thoroughly researched. Although there are many works about schools organised by the Jesuite order and protestants in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries, not much research has been done on schools governed by Orthodox religious organisations. Therefore, this thesis aims to at least partly fill this gap in Polish historical scholarship. Its subject is: *Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries.*

This work concentrates on the following research questions: what influenced the creation of brotherhood schools, what were their statutes, and who was involved in the creation of their curricula? The schools' rules and regulations were also discussed. Research into these issues was possible only after their numbers and locations were ascertained, including what diocese they belonged to, whose lands (royal or private) they were located in, and when they operated. Furthermore, research was done concerning the legal base for their establishment and operations, foundation dates, and rules and regulations. In

this case it was important to explain who issued the foundation act and the statute (a clergyman or the ruler), as well as who initiated the creation of the school. The analysis of legal documents (grants, edicts, *grammata*) included establishing their authorship and the date when the school statute was pronounced by the ruler or the clergy. The author managed to bring attention to many new documents concerning the functioning of schools in the 17th and 18th century.

Another set of research questions is related to teaching curricula and methods, the characteristics of course books and teaching aids. The issues surrounding the brotherhood and school staff are equally important: what legal documents detailed who participated in the teaching process? What where the characteristics of the teachers and students, and how were the teachers selected? What were the competences and duties of the teachers, and how were students selected? What was the composition of the faculty and their qualifications? What was the social and ethnic background of the teachers and students? How were the texts of oaths and prayers used in the educational process? Furthermore, the organisation of the brotherhoods themselves and of their schools was analysed: what was their organisational structure? What were the rights and obligations of the brothers and students? How were the brotherhoods and schools governed? What were the rights and obligations of the church and city authorities in relation to the brotherhood schools and ktetors of brotherhood churches and monasteries? What were the relations between the schools and the parishes and other brotherhood institutions? What were the relations between the clergy and school teachers and the church leadership? The thesis discusses the material situation of the schools: when were sacral buildings erected on its land, and of what type (chapel, church, part of the altar area of a parish church)? What was the school library like and how was it equipped? What duties did the school have towards the parish and vice versa? How was the school funded? What was the condition of the school buildings? The final group of issues was concerned with the relations between brotherhood schools and the local community, city authorities, other brotherhoods and schools, printing houses, local Orthodox elites, the Uniat and Catholic communities. Furthermore, an attempt was made to evaluate the quality of Orthodox brotherhood education in comparison to Protestant and Catholic schools. In the final chapter and conclusions the author concentrates on the influence of brotherhood schools on the preservation of the religious and cultural identity of the people of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as the consequences, for brotherhood educational efforts, of the Ruthenian elites moving away from Orthodoxy. This part of the thesis focuses on the schools' missionary work.

The temporal extent of the work is by necessity constrained by the existing sources. The starting date is defined by the first mention of Orthodox Church schools in sources from the 15th century, although the genesis of the brotherhoods reaches back to the honey guilds of the mid-15th century. The analysed

period ends in 1795, with the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which saw most of its eastern lands and the parishes therein incorporated into the Russian Empire and the Russian Orthodox Church. The existing brotherhood schools were abolished. This time constraint is also aligned with the dates of establishment and abolition of brotherhood schools. The geographic area covered in the research was limited to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in its 1569 borders. The analysis of many issues of interest in the research, such as school rules and regulations, the origins of the teachers, obtaining course books, and purchases for school libraries, necessitated the inclusion of areas outside the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as the cities of Lvov, Lutsk, Kiev, or Zamość. The territorial restriction of the research was mostly connected with the specific character of the school system under brotherhood supervision.

Sources were analysed using the critical analysis method. Their interpretation proved challenging as they are religious documents and therefore not objective. The analytical method is connected with the philological method – an analysis of the texts of written historical sources, which directly inform about brotherhood schools, which was mostly applied to visitations and inventories. The comparative method was used to analyse teaching curricula, school organisation, teachers and students, and educational activities of the brotherhoods. For the sake of clarity the graphic method was used for the analysis of school locations. The genetic method was also applied for finding causal relations of a more complex character, as opposed to simple relations stemming from the passage of time. This research method was used to explain the downfall of individual schools. Sociological methods were used in the analysis of the involvement of brotherhood members in educational activities, i.e. the analysis of social structures through the lens of social and economic sciences. The schools' locations and the number of teachers and students in individual schools were studied using statistical analysis. This method was used for calculating certain averages. Using it required a prior analysis of the reliability of source information. In some cases the calculations had to be based on estimates. Neither was the use of the genealogical method neglected in the study, as it helped establish the familial relations between the brotherhood members and school founders.

This thesis, dedicated to brotherhood schools in the 16^{th}-18^{th} centuries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, is organised following chronology and subject matter. It consists of the following chapters: 1^{st} – *The Establishment and Activities of Orthodox Church Brotherhoods in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the* 16^{th}*-*18^{th} *centuries.* It contains a discussion of the following issues: a new type of brotherhood coming into being in the second half of the 16^{th} century, the reformatory activities of this new type of brotherhoods, the brotherhoods' political and religious activity in defence of the Orthodox Church, their charitable works, their publishing. The next chapter is titled *Orthodox Church Brotherhood Schools in the* 16^{th}*-*18^{th} *centuries.* The focus of this chapter is on: Orthodox schools in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the

16th and the early 17th century; the establishment of brotherhood schools and its legal and canon basis, as well as the operations of the brotherhoods in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries. This chapter covers the establishment of brotherhood schools and its legal basis, their place in the brotherhood statutes, their location in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and their history in the 17th and 18th century.

The next chapter covers the organisation of brotherhood schools. It contains an analysis of issues connected with: the organisation and regulations governing brotherhood schools, their curricula, teaching methods, course books and teaching materials, and the contents of their libraries. The chapter following this is devoted to the teachers and students of the schools. This part presents and evaluates the local and foreign teachers involved with the brotherhood schools, as well as a general characteristic of their students and graduates.

The final chapter serves as a conclusion and is devoted to the missionary activities of the brotherhood schools and their role in the religious and cultural formation of the Orthodox community in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the conclusions the author points out the schools' place in the history of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th centuries. The work is appended with lists of handwritten and printed sources and literature. A number of appendices were added, which allow for a better understanding of the theses of the doctorate and are a valuable complement to the subject matter. (*The School Order of 1586, The Memorial Book of the Vilnius City Council from 1516 to 1721, A List of the Members of the Vilnius Brotherhood of 1584, School Apologetics…* by Sylwester Kossow, A list of the Archimandrites of the Holy Spirit Brotherhood monastery in Vilnius). Furthermore, maps were included detailing the changes in the location and organisation of the schools (*Brotherhood Schools in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1772*).

Schools founded by townspeople and church brotherhoods started to appear in the 16th century. The development of education was no accident, as it came at a time of religious polemics and a struggle for the preservation of the dogma of various denominations. The Orthodox elites of the time believed the schools would play a major role in the preservation of the religious identity of the faithful. Indeed, an Orthodox educational system was the only way of protecting their own faith, liturgy, and the Church-Slavonic language. However, the quality of this education depended on the financial resources the brotherhoods could muster and on their ability to obtain good teaching staff. Research indicates that the number of brotherhood schools and their teaching curricula are testament to the strength of their influence. These schools formed the elites of the Ruthenian community influencing the religious, political and cultural life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th-18th century. This was perfectly understood by the Orthodox nobility and townspeople, who decided the role and tasks of brotherhood schools. It should be noted that brotherhood schools were established at a time of dynamic changes in the Eastern Church. The reform pro-

gramme initiated by church brotherhoods, although nowhere nearly as extensive as the post-Trident changes in the Latin Church, included the creation of a new educational system. The establishment of brotherhood schools was to alleviate the problem of Orthodox faithful leaving the Church. Following the Union of Brest and the collapse of Orthodox Church structures it was the lay faithful belonging to the brotherhoods, who shaped the charitable, publishing, and educational policy of the Church. The institutions they ran were secondary schools and were the basic element of the educational efforts of the Orthodox Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16^{th}-18^{th} centuries.

ARCHPRIEST BORIS NICHIPEROVICH

Abolition of Autocephaly of the Church of Georgia and Establishment of Russian Ecclesiastical Rule in Georgia

Słowa kluczowe: Cerkiew prawosławna, Autokefalia Cerkwi Gruzińskiej
Keywords: Orthodox Church, Autocephaly of the Church of Georgia

Streszczenie

Zniesienie autokefalii Cerkwi Gruzińskiej i ustanowienie rosyjskiej władzy cerkiewnej w Gruzji

Podstawą ideologiczną idei imperialnej prawosławnej Rosji była ideologia chrześcijańskiego braterstwa, zbawienia i ochrony ludu wiary prawosławnej. To ideologia, według której powinna kierować Rosja, zgodnie z którą przeniesienie nowych ziem do własnego państwa oznaczało rozszerzenie granic świata prawosławnego i zwiększenie liczby prawosławnych. W wyniku zniesienia autokefalii Kościoła Gruzińskiego przez Rosję niezależność kościoła została podważona, a Kościół gruziński utracił na swoje znaczenie i miejsce w społeczeństwie i państwie, które było dla niego tradycyjne od IV do XIX wieku. Władze rosyjskie skonfiskowały cały majątek, posiadłości, domy, chłopów kościelnych, szlachty z Cerkwi gruzińskiej. W latach pięćdziesiątych XIX wieku rosyjski skarb państwa otrzymał własność Cerkwi gruzińskiej o wartości 150 milionów złotych rubli i prawie pół miliona dziesięcin ziemi.

Abstract

Abolition of Autocephaly of the Church of Georgia and Establishment of Russian Ecclesiastical Rule in Georgia

The ideological axis of the Orthodox imperial idea was the ideology of Christian brotherhood, salvation and protection of the people of the Orthodox faith. It is the ideology by which should guide Russia, according to which moving new lands into its own state meant expanding the borders of the Orthodox world and increasing the number of Orthodox people. As a result of abolition autocephaly of the Church of Georgia by Russia, independence of the church was undermined and Georgian Church lost the condition and place in society and state for centuries,

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that was traditional to it from IV to XIX centuries. The Russian authorities confiscated all the property, estates, houses, church peasants, nobles from the Georgian church. In the 50s of the XIX century, the Russian state treasury was given property of the Georgian Church valued at 150 million gold Rubles and almost half a million tens of land.

In the XV century, after the overthrown of the Byzantine Empire, Russia declared itself its successor. It proclaimed himself the heir of Constantinople by moving to Russia the symbol of the Byzantine coat of arms, two-headed eagle, church and the State Symphony and took over the function of the Third Rome. It converted the idea of "Moscow is the Third Rome" not only as an ideological basis, but also as an idea of the existence of Russian statehood. The ideological axis of the Orthodox imperial idea was the ideology of Christian brotherhood, salvation and protection of the people of the Orthodox faith. It is the ideology by which should guide Russia, according to which moving new lands into its own state meant expanding the borders of the Orthodox world and increasing the number of Orthodox people.

The state understanding of imperialism was based entirely on other principles, primarily on geostrategic goals and interests. The religious motive has moved to the background. The main determinant of Russian colonialism was the expansion of the empire's borders at the expense of neighboring territories. Russia was waging conquest wars, annexing new lands, becoming stronger, he focused in his orbit more and more territories and population.

The peculiarities of Russian colonialism were determined by the geostrategy of this state, the direction, level and nature of the economic, political, or cultural development of the empire. Along with the internal situation of the country, the foreign reality was also important. In the foreign reality, two aspects must be distinguished: Condition of peoples entering in the Russian possession in the pre-empire period and the location of Russia's colonial dominions, their proximity to the European or Asian world.

Peoples conquered by Russia differed greatly from one another in terms of development, language, culture, religion, tradition of statehood and so on. If one still lived with nomadic and patriarchal life, others, for example, Georgia had a long tradition of statehood, unique culture, Christian civilization and solid national identity. And it was not only in the past, though Georgia could no longer maintain unity in new time, but did not lose its statehood. The Georgian kingdom-principalities – these little "Georgias" were separate state units and continued to exist in Russia until the Russians became active. It is necessary to say that most of the people, who had to be under Russian colonial yoke, during the incorporation into the bosom of the Roman Empire was in the process of disintegration and was weakened due to wars, attacks from aggressive neighboring states or other factors.

The XIX century Russian Empire began with the conquest of the South Caucasus, first abolished Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti and annexed it, then overtook Western Georgia and Muslim khanates. With the repeated defeats of Iran and the Ottomans, Russia didn't let them to enter in the region and became full ruler of this land. The great power, energy, human and financial resources spent Tsarism in the long war for the victory and conquest of North Caucasus mountains, which lasted for more than three decades.

Historically, Russia had a large population. The authorities used this factor in the process of appropriation new territories and applied colonization widely. Russian-Georgian relations became particularly intense in the XVIII century. During this period, the Russian border was in fact crossing the Caucasus. The Russians also built some fortresses here. Their political interests towards Georgia have increased. The clearest proof of this was the Treaty of Georgievsk signed in 1783. Together with the political interests, the church relationship was also strengthened. This is well illustrated in the mentioned treaty, which states that the pastor of the Church of Georgia must to take eighth place among the Russian High Priests according to the Article 8 and would be a permanent member of Russia's Most Holy and Righteous Synod. Later, it would have to be allowed the other article to manage Orthodox Church of Georgia and clarify its relationship with the Russian Church.

It should be noted that in the original version of the treaty, the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia must to take fifth place among the members of the Russian Synod after the priests of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev and Novgorod. This position was expressed during the negotiations by the member of the Russian delegation A. A. Bezborotko[2], but when the Georgian ambassadors: Ioane Mukhranbatoni and Garsevan Chavchavadze arrived in Georgievsk to sign the final text, the fifth place of Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia was replaced by the eighth, they expressed their protest on it. This caused reaction of the General P. Potiomkin. Here is what he told to Georgian ambassadors: "How can it be humiliating to be granted an eighth degree to Catholicos, while the Kingdom of Georgia itself, subject to Russia, recognizes its supreme authority. Isn't the former diocese part of Russia itself? Every rank in the Russian empire, whether religious or civil, equals to such rank in the kingdom of Georgia, according to the intended connection, must have priority by all means. Therefore, the Georgian Catholicos, as a part of the Kingdom of Georgia, will be subject to Russia along with the Kingdom."[3]

The protest of Georgian ambassadors remained as a protest. They were unable to defend their position. The record existed in the text practically legalized the conversion of the Georgian Church into a Russian church. Not the eighth, the fifth place should have been unacceptable for the Georgian Church

[2] А. А. Цагарели, *Грамоты и другие исторические документы XVIII столетия, относяшиеся до Грузии*, т. II, вып. 2, Санкт-Петербург 1902, с. 37.

[3] R. Lominadze, *Establishing Russian Domination in Georgia*, Tbilisi 2000, p. 69.

as it was obvious and rough violation of the norms of church law, the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia was equal to the high priest of the Russian Diocese. Neither General P. Potiomkin's response should have been left without criticism, as the entry of one state into another's patronage did not constitute grounds for the abolition of the autocephaly of the Church of Georgia. However, the record of the eighth article of the treaty actually meant that. Obvious example of this was the Byzantine Empire, which had several patriarchates on its territory, though the state was one. But the Russian empire was less concerned, because in Russia itself, since the time of Peter I, position of patriarch was abolished and the church was ruled by a secular person – Ober-Prosecutor, who had ministerial rights and was considered as a representative of the church in the Senate. The Russian Church itself was without rights and was in fact a structural unit of the state.

The Russian imperial door was well aware of Georgia's political importance in pursuing its goals in the "|Eastern Issue." So he did his best to conquer it. At the same time, the rulers of the empire were well aware of the important function of the Georgian Church in the life of the country. Therefore, the existence of this church independently prevented the empire from fulfilling its goals. This explains the fact, that after the abolishment the kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti, the Empire immediately actively attacked the Georgian Church. Russian officials interfered roughly in its affairs. At this time the pastor of the Georgian Church was Anton II, son of Erekle II and Darejan Dadiani.

Anton II at the age of 26, in 1788, became Catholicos-Patriarch. His contribution is immensely large in the history of our church. Therefore, on July 5, 2011 by the regulations of the Holy Synod, the Catholicos-Patriarch Anton II was deemed as a saint and was named Anton II the Second Martyred (Commemoration December 21 with old style, January 3 with new style). In the conditions of many humiliation, abuse, intimidation and coercion, after the manifestation of 1801 declaring abolition of the Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti, he managed to maintenance for ten years autocephaly of the Church of the State, which lost its independence.

On December 18, 1800 Emperor Paul I signed manifesto on the abolition of the Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti. On October 16, 1801 the above mentioned manifesto was read in the cathedrals of Sioni and Vank-Armenian Church existing in Tbilisi. In this regard, with the command of Russian officials, the Metropolitan Arsen Tbileli fulfilled liturgy, and Anton II fulfilled thanksgiving prayer.[4] Prior to that, in February, 1801 K. Knorring sent a request to Anton II to provide him with information on the following issues:

[4] *The Life of King George the Thirteenth described by Platon father's name Egnate Ioseliani*, Tbilisi 1978, p. 22.

1) How many Episcopalians are in Georgia, who are their high priests, who are the right reverend clerical leadership and what is their attitude towards the king's authority?
2) How many Desert Fathers and Mothers, cathedral and parish churches are there in each episcopate, in what way do the right reverend as well as monasteries and church servants earn and receive subsistence income?
3) Whether high priests have jurisdiction to rule the monasteries and churches, such as: Dicastery, theocracy or archdiocese. Who are the attendees, clerical and secular officials of the Chancellery, what kind of salary have they?
4) Where do clergymen choose civil cases – in theological or civil court?
5) Is there the same rule in Georgia for granting the theological rank as in Russia? Is theological rank granted by population or by clerical leadership?
6) Are there Episcopal schools for the clergy, and if so, where are they located, what are they taught there and how do they exist?
7) Was there anything else needed to improve the situation of the Georgian clergy besides the above?[5]

In his extensive response letter Anton II informed K. Knorring about all. At the beginning of the letter he talks about the history of the ancient autocephalous church. The addressee was unhappy with the answer, as he was most interested with the sources of income and finances of the Georgian church. In this regard, he found the answer unsatisfactory, and therefore he addressed with the same questions to the ruling bishops of a separate diocese.[6]

Despite numerous concessions of Georgian clergy, the Russian authorities were actively involved in the affairs of the Georgian Church. In 1802, K. Knorring asked Anton II information about incomes again. Anton was forced to provide him with these materials. The Catholicos-Patriarch was aware of the danger that awaited the Georgian Church, so he sought to maintain calm and "friendliness". So, for example, the vicehent P. Tsitsianov decided to relocate members of the Bagrationi royal family to Russia and Anton II interceded for his mother, Queen Darejan, to leave in Georgia. P. Tsitsianov's sharp reaction followed it. Anton was forced to give up his mother's protection.

Russian officials were making their best to make situation confronting and feuding between Georgian clergy and in some cases successfully managed it. During the governance of the vicehent I. Gudovich the process of appropriation of church lands began. This was another step on the way of the independence of the Church of Georgia, as it weakened material state of the Church and made it depended on the state.

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[5] *Акты, собранные Кавказской археографической комиссией* (hereinafter – *Акты*), т. 1, Тифлис 1866, с. 529.

[6] There, p. 531-534.

During the governance of the vicehent Al. Tormasov actively began reorganization of the Georgian Church, without interruption the rights of the Catholicos. In the current situation, Anton II had to agree with Al. Tormasov in some demands with the hope of maintaining independence of the Church. Al. Tormasov made a request to chief prosecutor Al. Golitsin to make petition with the Emperor for the establishment of theological dicastery in Georgian church. According to the vicehent, Anton II was supposed to be the head of the dicastery, and his deputy would be, Archbishop Varlam, who was well-versed in the case.[7] Al. Tormasov began to act before the getting answer from St. Petersburg and shared his views on the matter with Anton. The vicehent demanded creation of the special commission, which would determine the number of churches and monasteries in Georgia and the number of persons serving in them. The clergy should not have been ordained without the consent of the secular authorities.[87]

The Imperial Door saw, that Anton II was making his best to delay implementation of their decisions. So it was decided to recruit Anton from Georgia. On November 2, 1809 the chief prosecutor Al. Golitsin informed the vicehent that, by the decision of the emperor Catholicos-Patriarch had to go to St. Petersburg to discuss church changes, though everyone saw that it was relocation and that no one would return Anton. The Catholicos-Patriarch also realized this. On December 7, 1809 in a letter sent to the governor of Georgia T. Akhvedrov, Anton II expresses his appreciation for the attention the Emperor had shown for his invitation to St. Petersburg, but politely refused to travel due to illness.[9]

The Russian authorities patiently met with the response of Anton II and waited for his "recovery". In the summer of 1810, demand was repeated to the Catholicos-Patriarch. He was forced to agree to leave in late August, when the hot summer was over. On July 12, 1810 Al. Tormasov applies Anton II with a letter: "I am very sorry, that you get my advice about your departure to St. Petersburg as a compulsion. I had no other thought but to execute the emperor's will. You know the reason why the emperor wanted you to visit St. Petersburg. It is based on your suggestion – the establishment of a clerical dicastery in Georgia to bring the clergy cases in order. All this needs to be resolved soon. I received your letter informing, that health promotes your departure. I gave the order and informed the Emperor about everything. Moving on your departure until the end of August, I felt it necessary, sincerely advise you to hasten the execution of the emperor's will, as it would be useful for you. Then the vicehent writes: "I cast doubt on you are heading north, where there is no fever and travel is less dangerous, though the time of departure depends on you." At the end Tormasov writes: "And I beg you not to take my advices in restricting your

[7] *Акты*, т. 4, Тифлис 1870, с. 139.
[8] There, p. 139.
[9] There, p. 149.

freedom. I had no intention of doing so, and neither you gave me reason for it."[10]

Catholicos-Patriarch Anton II oppressed in every way was forced to travel to Russia on August 10, 1810. Though unexpectedly he returned back from Dusheti to Tbilisi, but realized that failure would be worse for him and on November 3, 1810 he finally left for Russia. On March 20, 1811 Anton II was adopted with great honor in St. Petersburg. On June 10, the Emperor gave him two rescripts by which he was awarded with the Order of Andria the First and the Green Velvet Mantle. Anton was elected as a member of the Holy Synod. Annual pension with the amount of 54 thousand Rubles was appointed to him. With the second rescript the Emperor was promising him: "During the sacred service you will have all the clerical advantages, which you had before, and wherever will be needed in church ordinances, you will be mentioned as the most blissful among the high priests."[11] [10] However, many Imperial promises were no longer fulfilled. He moved from St. Petersburg to Nizhny Novgorod, where he died in 1827.[12]

After the forced appeal of Anton II in Russia, Archbishop Varlam was fulfilling his duties. Of particular importance was the reduction of dioceses and the establishment of clerical dicastery. By 1811 there were 13 dioceses in eastern Georgia headed by 7 high priests. 799 churches were served by 764 priests, 146 deacons, other church servants – 661, 9 place of Archimandrites were governed by 7 Archimandrites. The dioceses owned 2213 households ecclesiastical peasants, place of Archimandrites – additional 637 households. The annual income of the church was 26 360 Rubles, in the place of Archimandrites – 13 226 Rubles.[13] Archbishop Varlam thought it necessary to establish a clerical dicastery consisting of 6 members – archimandrites and deacons. In his opinion, two of the 13 dioceses would remain in the diocese of Mtskheta and Kartli and Alaverdi and Kakheti. The title of the pastor of Georgia would be worded as follows: "Metropolitan of Mtskheta and Kartli and Exarch of the Synod in Georgia."[14]

On June 21, 1811 the chief prosecutor Al. Golitsin submitted to the Emperor the project for signature, in which we read:

"1) Instead of 13 dioceses existing in Georgia, to be created two – Mtskheta and Kartli and Alaverdi and Kakheti, with five remaining out of nine places of archimandrites.

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[10] There, p. 152.

[11] *Hierarchy of the Church of Georgia, Catholicoses and High Priests*, Compiled by Priest P. Karbelashvili, Tbilisi 1900, p. 191.

[12] E. Bubulashvili, *Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia Anton II Life and Activities*, Tbilisi 2002, p. 140.

[13] *Акты*, т. 4, с. 217.

[14] There, p. 162.

2) Metropolitan of Mtskheta and Kartli to be appointed as the head of the Georgian Church. To attribute him the eternal title of a member of the Synod and its Exarchate.
3) To be established dicastery, similar to the one in Russia, led by the Clergyman of Georgia, which will approve the number of churches and clergy, conduct church affairs.
4) To be opened Theological Seminary for the education of the children of priests and church servants instead of the gymnasium.
5) The money required for church expenses will be issued from church income.
6) To preserve the church and their servants, the Synod agrees, the lands that the church had before to be retained by the church until the Russian rule is established.., As for the nobles who ruled the church lands, as the dicastery collects income from the ecclesiastic peasants, such ruler would no longer be needed." [15]

The functions of the ecclesiastic dicastery were the following: 1) To examine existing churches and condition of the priests and clergymen serving, if any of them are unnecessary, cancel such churches, dismiss the servants or distribute them to other churches. To appoint income appropriate of the rank to those who will be dismissed from the church, 2) Church peasants' income must be in full order, for this decastery will be allowed to inspect their income and expenditure; 3) It is known how difficult it is to receive church income in real terms and to avoid this, the incomes, which must be spend on churches, theological schools and other institutions, to be replaced by monetary taxes, which is given to dicastery, and those intended for bishops and archimandrites, to be given them in real terms, by the decision of the dicasteery.[16]

The Emperor signed the document establishing dicastery on June 30, 1811. On August 30, 1814, by order of the Emperor, dicastery was replaced by the Georgia-Imereti Synodal Cantor, actually it existed until May 8, 1815. It is known that the Georgian Church had two administratively independent but spiritually united church units: Catholicosate of Kartli and Abkhazia. The Greeks had this kind of church arrangement and still have Armenians. It was practically the same in Georgia until the end of the XVIII century. By this time, the idea of uniting scattered Georgia had spread among Georgians. One of the founders of this idea was Metropolitan Dositeoz Kutateli sitting on the place of the Catholicos of Western Georgia or Abkhazian-Imeretian together with Ekvtime Genateli. Implementation of this idea – uniting Georgia into one state, that was very important at the time had failed. The hierarchies of the Church of Western Georgia, in return, seem to have found it better to unite the Church of All Georgia. That is why the Metropolitan Dositeoz of Kutaisi refused the Catholic throne

[15] There, p. 166.
[16] There, p. 167.

(the title of the Catholicos was given to him by the King of Imereti Solomon II) and the Church of Western Georgia and the Hierarchy during the King Erekle II were legally and administratively subordinated to the court of Eastern Georgia – to judicial authorities of Kartli Catholicosate (dicastery) and Catholicos Anton II. By the time of the abolition of the autocephaly of the Georgian Church (by 1811), the Church of Georgia included East-West Georgia. It is seen from the fact, that dicastery of the Catholicosate of Kartli, before the beginning of the Russians rule, chose the case of the clergy of western Georgia.[17]

This fact became the basis of the Russian Synod, when the Georgian dicastery was remaked into Georgia-Imereti Synodal Cantor in 1815 and the government subordinated to it the churches of Guria-Samegrelo of the autocephalous principalities.[18] Therefore, in the exarchate of Eastern Georgia, the church subordination of western Georgia was not just a matter of joining the empire of the Kingdom of Imereti, but already existing church subordination of western Georgia to the Eastern – general Georgian ecclesiastical center.

Sargis Kakabadze writes about this – this was really so and Georgian Church was united in West-East Georgia before Russians rule was established: "The inclination to unification in Amer-Imer was so great, that it later found expression in church life at least. The last Abkhazia-Imereti (Western Georgia) Catholicos Maxime Abashidze, who was sent as Ambassador to Russia by King of Imereti David II, died in Kiev in 1795, not returned back. Instead of him they thought blessing Metropolitan Dositeoz Kutateli as a Catholicos, but that did not happen. According to Plato Ioseliani, the general leadership of the Church of Western Georgia was then entrusted to the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia, Anton II. This leadership was nominal, but the fact that in Western Georgia was no longer a separate Catholicos was still symptomatic. It is also noteworthy, that this seems to have been done not by the instruction of Tbilisi, but by the guidance of the Imeretians themselves." [19]

That is why the Exarch Varlam Metropolitan was ordered by the Russian authorities to carry out ecclesiastical "reform" in western Georgia nominally subordinated to him. Varlam failed to do so, dissatisfied government appealed him from Georgia and appointed Russian by nationality Metropolitan Theophylactus as Exarch instead of him. After arriving in Tbilisi, he presented report to the Holy Synod with the aim of church reform (abolition of the independence of the remainder of the Georgian Church) in West Georgia on the reduction of the Likht-Imereti Dioceses and subordination to the Exarch. There were 9 high priest chairs in Western Georgia at that time. The Russians intended to leave only 3 dioceses, as well as to register the income of the church estates and

[17] A. Japaridze, *Georgian Church in XIII-XVII Centuries*, Church Calendar, Tbilisi 1994.
[18] *Essays of the History of Georgia*, *Abkhazia from ancient times till the present days*, vol. IV, Tbilisi, 2011, p. 891.
[19] S. Kakabadze, *History of the Georgian People 1783-1921*, Tbilisi 1997, p. 32.

subordinate them to the Exarch and Synodal Cantor. Now they were demanding cash tax from Church peasants and were promising salary to the clergy.[20]

Russian officials tried to convince authorities of St. Petersburg, that church reform would bring not only political but also economic benefits to the empire, because Treasury income from Imereti would increase to 100.000 Rubles (before barely reached up to 20.000 Rubles). The basis of this was that church peasants and church estates were important part of the general population and land fund in western Georgia.

The New Exarch Theophylactus Rusanov, who began his activates in Georgia from 1817, was considered as an educated person by the authorities and Russian circles, he tried to be a firm proponent of Russian policy in Georgia. Upon his arrival at the Holy Temple of Sioni, he introduced Slavic liturgy instead of Georgian, opened Russian-language seminary in Tbilisi. He wanted to use it for the russification new generation of Georgian clergy and further for the weakening the national consciousness of Georgian parish through them. Until then, the people of Georgia considered Georgian and Orthodox synonyms, according to the new church policy, they wanted to distance the notion of Orthodoxy from the notion of Georgian, giving one of them only religious form and national-ethnic to the other one, then intersection of Russian and Orthodoxy in Georgian consciousness.

It is noteworthy that all this, the will of the Russian authorities was felt by the faithful population of Imereti and was even mentioned in a corresponding letter to the Russian authorities during the initiation of the "ecclesiastical reform" in 1819-1820. Georgians in western Georgia viewed the "church reform" as an attempt to abolish the Georgian Church – national faith and wrote to the authorities: "If the Russian Empire did not touch Jewish faith as well as the Armenian and Catholic churches, why would we be an exception. If at that time, when we were in the hands of the Muslims, no one was touching our strong faith and no one was saddening us, why have you been alarmed at this time, when high priests, temples and priests are being robbed from us."[21]

This letter shows that in 1819-1820 the population of western Georgia knew perfectly what they really wanted and what the ecclesial result would be followed with the "ecclesiastical reform." Indeed, as it is noted in the letter, the Russian Empire did not touch churches of non-Orthodox confessions. An example of this is that the Armenian Church in the empire had to the end "its own independent organization headed by a Catholicos. Armenian parish schools were opened everywhere with Armenian churches, Armenians had theological secondary schools (seminaries, one of them in Tbilisi), they also had a high school in Echmiadzin and a theological academy. Everywhere studies conducted in the Armenian language." [22]

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[20] There, p. 87.
[21] *Акты*, т. 6, ч. I., Тифлис 1874, p. 391.
[22] S. Kakabadze, *History of the Georgian People 1783-1921*, p. 230.

It is noteworthy that the Russian authorities were also concerned that, despite the abolition of kingdom authority, even though Imereti was annexed by the Russian Empire in 1810, duty of the king of Imereti was still in fact fulfilled by the clerical highest authority of Imereti, it had the greatest influence on the low and the high class. Russian authorities were very disturbing with it. This was the reason, that the local Russian authorities had received such an order from the government: "It is time to put an end to the excessive influence of the Imereti clergy on the minds of the people."[23]

After the establishment of Russian rule in Imereti, the influence of the highest church authorities on the people, especially of the metropolitans Kutateli and Genateli has not diminished, but increased. On the reasons of this, S. Kakabadze writes: "At that time there were nine high priests in Imereti-Guria-Samegrelo. Priests in western Georgia were also too many (they were about 5% of the population by family). The priest had a great influence in the village, as he was close to the peasantry and as more conscious, was more useful to the peasantry in his plague, besides, in the past, during the battles with the Ottomans, the priesthood was needed to strengthen Christian consciousness among the people. The metropolitans of Kutaisi and Gelati had a great ecclesiastical capacity (at this time, more than 500 adult households noble-peasant). With different officials of their door and frequent visits of princes Their influence enhanced by the abolition of local Georgian rule, because Russian rule was not liked by the people."[24]

The Exarch Theophylactus, accompanied with the reinforced Russian troops and artillery-cannons, moved to western Georgia and began "ecclesiastical reforms. „Theophylactus was sending his representatives to Imereti villages, who were conducting this kind of ecclesiastical reform: With the pretext of reducing the staff they were dismissing the clergy, it caused closing of churches, which were existing even during the invasions of Muslims, they described the church property-income and the government's intention about the reduction of dioceses, already knew all Georgia. Reduction of the diocesan and ecclesiastical staff was nothing but the dismissal of the bishops and priests dedicated to the church and the country, abolition of churches, arresting of rebels, not reduction but increasing taxes of ecclesiastical peasants. In Imereti at that time there were 2.124 ecclesiastical households (1.994 ecclesiastical peasants and 130 ecclesiastical nobles). The income from converting them into money was 11.482 Rubles of silver, when in 1817 the treasury income from the whole Imereti was only 16.745 Rubles.[25] Western Georgian society concerned with the "reform" has repeatedly applied the authorities to stop the process. The society assured the government, that as a result of this ecclesiastical reform "many parishes will be destroyed, honest and all-embracing icons and crosses will be stolen, churches

[23] *Акты*, т. 6, ч. I., p. 574.
[24] S. Kakabadze, *History of the Georgian People 1783-1921*, p. 87.
[25] St. Chkhataraishvili, *Principality of Guria*, Tbilisi 1985, p. 62.

will stay without priests raised by them and praying for them, Georgians will be separated from the blessings of their high priests."[26]

Such request, supplication and persuasion did not act. The government, led by Exarch Theophylactus, continued a "reform", according to which "the number of priests would be reduced doubly and triply. The bishops' life remarkable with retinue and hospitality, would not exist, that reduce their influence on the nobility and the people. When they began describing church peasants by moving on money their taxes and raising their taxes, people were scared."[27] In June-July 1819, the whole Imereti revolted, all classes of society. Parishioners were gathering at almost every church in the village.

"The peasants were calling each other for unity. Groups participating in unity were moving to neighboring villages, people were gathering by playing the trumpet-type instrument protected in all local churches and nobility along with the peasants were taking an oath of unity on the icons. Metropolitan Dositeoz Kutateli and Ekvtime Genateli clearly were calling the people to defend the rights of the church."[28] The ecclesiastical rebellion was especially widespread in Racha and generally in the whole country. Russian general governing Imereti informed the government, that the rebellion was widespread. The rebels blocked up transport and postal ways, occupied watch places, demanded the abolition of reform and the expulsion of Theophylactus Rusanov from Imereti. The government additionally sent two regiments of Cossacks to Imereti, one battalion of the regiment of grenadiers and artillery commanded by General. The slogan "Liberation of Homeland" was gradually spread among the rebels.[29] "Liberation of Homeland", of course, also meant freedom of the church. These powerful processes forced the government to halt the "reform" and on July 9 the "Frightened Exarch Theophylactus with enhanced protection – 300 troops and artillery departed Kutaisi for Tbilisi. It was the victory of the rebels."[30]

The rebels calmed down, but the actions of Russian officials and especially the General made people realize that the only solution was to expel the Russians and restore national royal authority. The rebels were hastened by the fact, that the Russians intended to punish them severely, they were demanding "repentance of sins" and taking an oath on the devotion of the Russian Empire. Rebellion resumed. Local Russian officials were convincing the Imperial door, that the rebellion was led by Georgian high priests – metropolitans Kutateli and Genateli: Dositeos and Ekvtime. From St. Petersburg came the order about the relocation the high priests from Imereti to Russia. This was, in fact permission for the local authorities to treat them according to their own discretion.

[26] *Essays of the History of Georgia*, vol. IV, p. 931.
[27] *Акты*, т. 6, ч. I., p. 391.
[28] S. Kakabadze, *History of the Georgian People 1783-1921*, p. 87.
[29] There, p. 88.
[30] *Essays of the History of Georgia*, vol. IV, p. 932, 933.

The Metropolitans arresting plan was developed with its permits and instructions. Meanwhile, the rebellious people and the entire society of Imereti began searching for king candidates. Unfortunately, King Solomon II had no direct successor. The king candidate was searched among the Bagrations, but then they began to search among the relatives of the kingdom house. Finally, Ivane Abashidze, grandson of Solomon II was proclaimed king of Imereti. In response, the Russians had input additional troops to Imereti, arresting of the new king and the metropolitans was ordered, who were rightly regarded as central figures in the rise of Georgian statehood and church independence. The Russian ruler of Imereti-Puzirevski captured the old-aged Metropolitan Dositeoz Kutateli and Ekvtime Genateli on March 4, 1820 and headed for Guria to capture the newly proclaimed King Ivane Abashidze. The authorities considered the captured Metropolitans not arrested, but captured.

Before leaving for Guria, Puzirevski agreed with the Russian authorities about the issue of the arrested high priests. He wrote to Lieutenant General Veliaminov: "In order to prevent escaping of captives, in order they would not know identities of each other and in order inhabitants would not recognize them at the time of the passage, I decided to put sacks on their heads, wrap them around the neck and waist and make space at the mouth for breathing. If there is an extreme case, I will kill them and throw the corpses in the water.[31] The Russian authorities in Tbilisi were deeply concerned with the opinion of throwing the Metropolitans corpses in the water after killing, as they feared, that after the identification of the corpses people would become furious, so Puzirevski was immediately instructed: You must most avoid execution of metropolitans, this can greatly disturb people encouraged by the clergy and nobles, it may also leave a bad impression on our soldiers. Because of their religious belief, they must have strong faith towards the clergy… But if it is still necessary to kill the old-aged priests, by no means, do not leave any of the corpses in Imereti, do not bury or throw them into the river, due to the narrow and rapid flow, the river can throw out the corpses and superstitious people will see it. Each corpse must be moved to Mozdok, not to be left even in Georgia or moved to Kaishauri, where they can be buried".[32] It was the actual permission for killing the metropolitans, but Puzirevski himself was killed in Guria before executing that order.

After the capturing metropolitans, rebelled not only Imereti and Racha, but Guria and Samegrelo too. The Russians input additional troops and artillery in Imereti. People fighting for the freedom of the state and the church fought fiercely against the enemy. That is why the Russian Command of the Caucasus sent a military expedition to western Georgia under the leadership of General Veliaminov. He was ordered brutally punish the rebels and to hang the captives on

[31] *Акты*, т. 6, ч. I., p. 579.
[32] There, p. 582.

the spot. Indeed, the Russians set fire to the villages and destroyed the fortresses. The defenders of the independence of the Church fought with devotion (from April to July 1820). Finally, the Russians won. Ermilov wrote about these many years later: “We destroyed and burnt the rebellious villages. The gardens and vineyards have been razed to the ground and even after many years the traitors would not be able to restore their original state”.[33]

As we have noted, they put sacks on the heads of the captured metropolitans and sent to the way of Russia with arabas. The authorities were afraid to leave them alive. It is thought, that Dositeos Kutateli was suffocated in the sack near Surami, but according to other report, he died after a brutal beating. His corpse and also Metropolitan Ekvtime Genateli were left in the sacks, only in Ananuri in a safe place for Russians, Russians released themselves from the corpse of the deceased Metropolitan. Obviously, this was reported to the Russian church authorities in Tbilisi in advance.

Members of the Kingdom House of Bagrationi, relocated to Russia were often invited to the capital of the empire to change their view about the civilization of the empire. It seems, that Emperor Alexander I invited to St. Petersburg Metropolitan Ekvtime Genateli for this purpose after relocation to Russia. It was expected that the Georgian Metropolitan, surprised by the Imperial splendor, would praise the Emperor in accordance with the rules, but a marvelous thing happened, Ekvtime Gelateli called “Nero” to the “Bloody Emperor.” Finally, the Russian authorities still carried out a “church reform” in western Georgia – abolished high priests chairs, left three instead of nine (in Imereti, Guria and Odishi). This reform, now with cautious was going on for years.

As a result of abolition autocephaly of the Church of Georgia by Russia, independence of the church was undermined and Georgian Church lost the condition and place in society and state for centuries, that was traditional to it from IV to XIX centuries. The Russian authorities confiscated all the property, estates, houses, church peasants, nobles from the Georgian church. In the 50s of the XIX century, the Russian state treasury was given property of the Georgian Church valued at 150 million gold Rubles and almost half a million tens of land.

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[33] *Essays of the History of Georgia*, vol. IV, p. 936.

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From Empire to Nation State: The Consolidation of the Relationship between the Orthodox Church and Independent Lithuania and Latvia after Word War I

Słowa kluczowe: Cerkiew prawosławna, Litwa, Łotwa
Keywords: Orthodox Church, Lithuania, Latvia

Streszczenie

Od imperium do państwa narodowego: Konsolidacja relacji między Kościołem prawosławnym oraz niepodległa Litwa i Łotwa po I wojnie światowej

Rewolucja lutowa 1917 roku zmieniła relacje między Cerkwią prawosławną a państwem w niepodległej Litwie i Łotwie, ponieważ umożliwiła Kościołowi swobodne działanie poza kontrolą państwa. Nie wahał się zwołać Wszechrosyjskiej Rady Kościoła – tak zwany Sobór, który zebrał się w Moskwie w sierpniu 1917 roku. Sesje Soboru oficjalnie trwały do września 1918 roku, ale po rewolucji bolszewickiej żadna z jej decyzji nie mogły zostać wykonane. W rzeczywistości tylko jedna decyzja została w pełni wdrożona, mianowicie przywrócenie patriarchatu, a arcybiskup Tichon (Bellavin), poprzednio arcybiskup Wilna i cała Litwa została patriarchą. Patriarcha Tichon był teraz arbitrem wszystkich nierozwiązanych kwestii prawa kanonicznego w Rosyjskim Kościele Prawosławnym, zwłaszcza że Soborowi nie udało się wdrożyć żadnych dalszych decyzji z powodu prześladowań sowieckich. Obejmowało to kwestię reorganizacji struktur Kościoła prawosławnego na obszarach nie należących już do Rosji, takich jak Litwa i Łotwa.

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Abstract

From Empire to Nation State: The Consolidation of the Relationship between the Orthodox Church and Independent Lithuania and Latvia after Word War I

The February Revolution of 1917 changed relationship between the Orthodox Church and Independent Lithuania and Latvia, as it enabled the church to act freely outside of state control. It did not hesitate to call an All-Russian Church Council – a so-called Sobor, which gathered in Moscow in August 1917. Its sessions officially continued until September 1918, but after the Bolshevik revolution, none of its decisions could be implemented. In fact, only one decision was wholly implemented, namely the re-establishment of the Patriarchy, with Archbishop Tikhon (Bellavin), formerly Archbishop of Vilnius and all Lithuania becoming Patriarch. Patriarch Tikhon was now the arbiter of all unresolved canon law issues within the Russian Orthodox Church, especially since the Sobor did not manage to implement any further decisions due to Soviet persecution. This included the question of reorganising the Orthodox Church structures in the areas no longer part of Russia, such as Lithuania and Latvia.

Talking about the Orthodox Church and Law in the modern period, one must distinguish between two parallel discourses. On the one hand, there is ecclesial or canon law, which regulates the way the church is internally organised and how it relates to other churches. On the other hand, secular law is written down by the modern state and regulates the way citizens interact with the state. Secular law is based on state authority, it is usually codified and can be applied relatively straightforward by anyone able to read. Orthodox canon law on the other hand is based on divine authority, handed down to earth by God through Jesus Christ and the apostles in a long chain through the centuries to the responsible Bishop or Metropolitan.[2] Its decisions are therefore often more a case of getting the blessing from the right hierarch than of applying the letter of the law. These two parallel and radically differing discourses sprung up in much of South Eastern Europe during the 19th century, whereas the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 had them emerge also in the new nation states at the periphery of the former Empire. It is not surprising that the two discourses, although closely intertwined, were very often incompatible, so also in the Baltic States. The secular authorities had entirely different aims than could ever be described in terms of canon law.

In the 19th century, the Orthodox Church was the state church of the Russian Empire. It was heavily influenced by the state, to an extent that it was at times difficult to distinguish between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church. This was especially the case during the term in office of the ultra-con-

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[2] J. Zariņš, *Pareizticīgās baznīcas un tās mantas tiesiskais stāvoklis Latvijā* [The Orthodox Church Properties and their legal status in Latvia], Latvijas Pareizticīgas Baznīcas Sinodes Izdevums, Rīga 1939, p. 32-33

servative Oberprokuror of the Most Holy Synod Konstantin Pobedonoscev (1880-1905).[3] In the Baltic and Western provinces, although the Orthodox Church was the favoured one, it remained one among several churches, and in the regions of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians definitely a minority church. There were attempts in these regions to strengthen the Orthodox Church: In Estland, Livland and Kurland, there were spontaneous mass conversions from Lutheranism to the Orthodox Church during the nineteenth century while in Vitebsk, Kaunas and Vilnius the administration tried to incite conversions from Catholicism to the Orthodox Church, much less successfully.[4] However, until 1905, conversion away from the Orthodox Church was prohibited. Once a member of the Orthodox Church – always a member of the Orthodox Church.

After the failed revolution of 1905, when Tsar Nicolai II had proclaimed a manifesto of religious freedom, conversion became possible and many reluctant Orthodox believers returned to their former faith. The role of the Orthodox Church in the eyes of the Russian authorities – as a facilitator of Russification – remained strong and important. It was, however, no longer really able to play out this role, as the nationalisms of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians had reached a stage where it required more than Orthodox propaganda to make the local inhabitants Russian.

The February Revolution of 1917 changed this drastically, as it enabled the church to act freely outside of state control. It did not hesitate to call an All-Russian Church Council – a so-called Sobor, which gathered in Moscow in August 1917. Its sessions officially continued until September 1918, but after the Bolshevik revolution, none of its decisions could be implemented.[5] In fact, only one decision was wholly implemented, namely the re-establishment of the Patriarchy, with Archbishop Tikhon (Bellavin), formerly Archbishop of Vilnius and all Lithuania becoming Patriarch. Patriarch Tikhon was now the arbiter of all unresolved canon law issues within the Russian Orthodox Church, especially since the Sobor did not manage to implement any further decisions due to Soviet persecution. This included the question of reorganising the Orthodox Church structures in the areas no longer part of Russia, such as Lithuania and Latvia.

[3] А. Ю. Полунов, *Под властью обер-прокурора: Государство и церковь в эпоху Александра III*, Москва 1996.
[4] А. В. Гаврилин, *Очерки истории Рижской епархиию 19 век* [Historical Sketches of the Riga Eparchy – 19th Century], Rīga1999; D. Staliunas, *Making Russians – Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863*, Amsterdam & New York 2007.
[5] G. Schulz, Gisela-A. Schröder and Timm C. Richter, *Bolschewistische Herrschaft und Orthodoxe Kirche in Rußland – Das Landeskonzil 1917/1918*, Münster 2005.

Lithuania

The process of 'normalisation' of church-state relations in Lithuania can be divided into two time periods: 1918-1923 and 1923-1928. An act of independence was signed on 16th February 1918, starting the state-building process in the face of German attempts to stay in Lithuania and Soviet attempts to spread the revolution here. The region around the designated capital Vilnius changed hands several times until it was occupied by Polish forces in 1920 and remained Polish until WWII, forcing the Lithuanians to declare Kaunas the temporary capital.

In this complicated context, the majority Roman Catholic Church considered the Orthodox Church as an unnecessary remnant of Tsarist rule over Lithuania. One Catholic Bishop asked the provisional government in 1918 to hand over „all pre-War Orthodox buildings, churches and monasteries which seem to be deserted" to the Catholic Church.[6] When the government wanted to return confiscated Orthodox property to the Orthodox Church, another Catholic Bishop protested: "The Russian Church can only lay claims to what has been built with Orthodox money in Lithuania. Anything else, should be given to the Catholic Church."[7] The project never was put into effect, for the Catholic Church would never agree to any compromise solution regarding the property issue.

The Eparchy (Diocese) of Vilnius and Lithuania in 1918 was in a state of disarray after several years of war. Many of the priests had been evacuated to inner Russia with much of the church treasures. Its Bishop was Patriarch of Moscow, and the see was temporarily entrusted to vicar bishop Elevferii[8] (Bogojavlenskii) of Kaunas (an ethnic Russian, as most Orthodox in Lithuania). He moved to Vilnius and began work on establishing new structures in the eparchy: He appointed an eparchy council beginning of 1919, which could not meet, however, until 1920. At that time, Vilnius was already occupied by Poland, and communication across the border was extremely difficult. Elevferii therefore decided to delegate a commissary to Kaunas to take care of that part of the eparchy.[9]

The eparchy council, sitting in Vilnius was mostly concerned with issues concerning the Lithuanian territories across the border, so a second eparchy council was established in Kaunas in 1921, mainly in order to satisfy the demands of the Lithuanian government, which did not like the idea of an organ

[6] R. Laukaitytė, *Stačiatikių Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XX amžiuje* [The Orthodox Church in Lithuania in the 20th century], Vilnius 2003, p. 24.
[7] Ibid.
[8] This is a transliteration of the Russian spelling of his name. In Lithuanian it would be 'Eleuterius'.
[9] A. Marcinkevičius, K. Saulius, *Lietuvos Stačiatikių Bažnyčia 1918-1940 m.* [Die orthodoxe Kirche in Litauen 1918-1940], Vilnius2003, p. 56.

sitting in Vilnius and deciding Lithuanian issues. Also in 1921, Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow named Elevferii officially the Archbishop of Vilnius and Lithuania, however only notifying the President of Lithuania seven months later.

Even with these delays, the Lithuanian government finally recognised Elevferii as the legitimate head of the Orthodox Church in Lithuania on 29th March 1922 “as long as the question of the Eastern border of Lithuania remains unresolved.”[10] This decision had been accelerated by the developments in the Polish Orthodox Church, soliciting autocephaly (full ecclesial independence.) Archbishop Elevferii, disapproving of these plans, protested and was promptly arrested. The Lithuanian government displayed its hostility to Poland by recognising him as Archbishop.

The recognition of Elevferii did not have much effect, as he remained confined to a monastery until he unexpectedly was able to come to Kaunas in January 1923, initiating the second level of church-state relations in Lithuania. Elevferii was received with festivities at the Kaunas station.[11] He had become an acceptable leader to the Lithuanian government, and a potential ally in the ‘Vilnius question’. He stubbornly insisted on retaining the title Archbishop of Vilnius and Lithuania until his superior, Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow told him otherwise. This was not going to happen as long as the Polish Orthodox Church sought to achieve autocephaly without patriarchal approval.

The first Lithuanian constitution from August 1922 had proclaimed the right of all religious organisations to be organised according to their canons and to own property. Upon Elevferii’s arrival in Kaunas, a law on the Orthodox Church in Lithuania formalised the church-state relationship and accorded some financial support to the Church from the state budget. However, the absolute dependence of Elevferii on the Patriarchate of Moscow remained a sore point for the Lithuanian State, but also this difficulty was removed, when Patriarchal deputy *locum tenens* Sergii in 1928 conferred wide autonomy to the eparchy of Vilnius and Lithuania, promoting Elevferii to Metropolitan at the same time. Since then, the Orthodox Church in Lithuania had no problems with the government, but only with the still hostile Catholic Church.

Latvia

The relations between the Orthodox Church in Latvia and the Latvian government can equally be described in two distinct time periods: 1919-1925 and 1925-1926. In 1919, most of the Latvian territory was controlled by the Bolshevik Government of Peteris Stucka. This government decreed the separation of

[10] Laukaitytė, op.cit., p. 15.
[11] Laukaitytė, op.cit., p. 16.

church and state on 20th February 1919.[12] For the churches, this meant a very difficult time, as they were deprived of any rights and defences they had heretofore had and were declared an enemy of the people to be destroyed if possible.[13] Once the communist regime was replaced in the end of 1919, almost anything would mean an improvement from the Bolshevik terror.

The Latvian state which emerged after the independence war in 1920 included the province of Latgale, which was formerly a part of the Gubernia of Vitebsk inhabited by mostly Catholics. The young government of Latvia declared it a priority to integrate this area into the Latvian nation. In order to facilitate the international recognition of Latvian independence, the government held talks with the Catholic Church, expecting an agreement with the Vatican to improve the chances.[14] Just as in Lithuania, the Orthodox Church in Latvia was seen as a remnant of Tsarist rule, which would fade away with the waning of the Russian Empire. The government refused to acknowledge the existence of the Orthodox Church as long as it remained subordinate to Moscow. Moreover, it was so eager to reach an agreement with the Vatican, that it promised the Catholic Church a Lutheran parish church in Riga as Cathedral and an Orthodox monastery as Bishop's residence. The Latvian majority being Lutheran immediately started a public debate regarding the handover of the Lutheran church, to an extent that the Orthodox protest was completely silenced out.

The Orthodox community in Latvia was in a dire state, just as in Lithuania. It had been severely ravaged by the years of war and the subsequent Bolshevik terror. Many priests and almost all the church treasures including many church bells had been evacuated to inner Russia. Moreover, Bishop Ioann (Smirnov), who had headed the eparchy until 1917 was transferred to Rjazan and the Estonian bishop Platon (Kulbusch), who had been named temporary administrator, was killed by the Bolsheviks in 1919. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Latvians managed to organise several gatherings from 1918 to 1920 during which the church structure was re-established, with an eparchy council elected.[15] Although some of its members wanted to sever the link with Moscow, the gatherings only agreed to send letters to Patriarch Tikhon asking that Archbishop Ioann (Pommer) of Penza, a native Latvian (Jānis Pommers in Latvian orthography), should become the new Bishop of Riga. Tikhon finally agreed in July 1921 and Jānis was allowed to travel to Riga to take up the new post.[16]

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[12] I. Runce, *Valsts un Baznīcas attiecības Latvijā: 1906-1940 gads*, [The State-Church relations in Latvia: 1906-1940], unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Latvia, Riga 2008, p. 117.

[13] Ibid., p. 117-122.

[14] R. Balodis, *„Church and State in Latvia" in Silvio Ferrari et al*. (eds.), *Law and Religion in Post-Communist Europe*, Leuven 2003, p. 143.

[15] [no author], 1920, *Latvijas pareizticīgās baznīcas pirmie*, *brīvie soļi*, [The first free steps of the Orthodox Church of Latvia] in Krusta Ēna, 1/1, p. 4-6.

[16] Zarins, op.cit., p. 29-30.

He passed by Moscow on the way and received an act of autonomy from Patriarch Tikhon, who personally consecrated him the Archbishop of Riga and all Latvia. However, the Alekseev monastery in Riga, where he was supposed to reside, was to be given to the Catholic Church and Jānis therefore took up residence in the Cathedral cellar, where there was no sun and no canalisation. He accepted this home in order to demonstrate his dissatisfaction with state policies and avoid having the Cathedral taken away from the church.[17] On his question why the Orthodox Church could not have a better legal standing, the Ministry of the Interior is supposed to have answered: “The Latvian laws do not include either the Orthodox Church and its organisation or any protection of this church. Moreover, the legalisation of the Orthodox Church in Latvia is currently not in the national interest.”[18] This answer prompted Archbishop Jānis to characterise the situation in democratic Latvia worse than back in the USSR. He attempted to counter the argument that the Orthodox Church promoted the ‘Russian spirit’ theologically, arguing that the Russians had little to do with the Orthodox Church, which is much older than Russian civilisation.[19]

Although a new law from 1923 on religious organisations guaranteed them the status of juridical persons, this was not applied to the Orthodox Church. Although Archbishop Jānis and the ethnic Russian Saeima (parliament) delegate A. S. Botčagovs fought hard in order to achieve a legislation of their Church, their case was not to be won. The government was bent on organising the Orthodox Church structures on its own. It requested information through its embassies in Finland and Estonia on the transfer to the jurisdiction of Constantinople that had happened there in 1923. Both states replied that they hoped a similar solution could be found in Latvia, however, they expressed their doubts because of the experienced and conservative Archbishop Jānis at its head. If the Latvian government would have to give in to the Archbishop, that would be a defeat.[20]

Between 1919 and 1925, the state had confiscated 28 Orthodox places of worship, giving 8 of them on to other churches. In 1925, the Orthodox Church decided to change the strategy. Instead of having the lay politician Botčagovs re-elected to the Saeima, it put up the Archbishop himself on the ballot. Many Orthodox, not only of Russian ethnicity, voted for Jānis and he became a delegate to the second Saeima. Archbishop Jānis diplomatically argued in parliament that he would not be able to call the Latvian Orthodox Church independent until it was recognised by the state. Now everything went very quickly, al-

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[17] J. Kalniņš, *Svētais Rīgas Jānis* [The Holy Jānis of Riga], Rīga 2001, p. 100; Runce, op.cit., p. 159.

[18] A. Pommers, *Православие в Латвии, исторические очерки* [Orthodoxy in Latvia, historical sketches], Rīga 1931, p. 80 – all other mentions refer only to this arguably biased source.

[19] Kalniņš, op.cit., p. 106-107.

[20] Runce, op.cit., p. 159-161.

ready in 1926, the Orthodox Church of Latvia was recognised as a legal entity with Archbishop Jānis at its head, entitled to the same rights as the Lutheran and Catholic Churches had been granted.

Conclusion

In both cases, despite very different contexts and challenges, there is an important similarity. Both Elevferii and Jānis were very conservative and remained loyal to Moscow, unlike the Bishops in Poland, Estonia or Finland. Moreover, full state recognition of the two Churches only appeared after the Archbishops had 'entered' the state territory, so to speak. In the Lithuanian case, this was when Elevferii refused to follow the other Polish Bishops on the road to autocephaly, and most directly upon his arrival in Kaunas – on Lithuanian state territory – in January 1923. In Latvia, it was when Janis was elected to parliament in 1925, thus 'coming closer' to the government. In both cases, the governments could no longer ignore the Orthodox Church, which in Lithuania was a potential ally against Polish expansionism and in Latvia was headed by a very outspoken parliamentary delegate.

However, the further developments in the two states show that the similarities end here. Whereas the Lithuanian Orthodox Church remained under the same legal regulations with the same man at its head, the Church in Latvia was completely reorganised upon the still unresolved murder of Archbishop Jānis in 1934. This time, the government managed to avoid Moscow influence and the Orthodox Church changed to the jurisdiction of Constantinople.[21] The independence was short-lived however, as the church was more or less forcefully integrated into the Moscow Patriarchate after the Soviet occupation in 1940. But that is another story, which I shall not tell here.

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[21] See: А. К. Кулис, *К вопросу об автокефалии латвийской православной церкви в 30-х годах XX века*, [in:] А. Гаврилин, (ed.), *Православие в Латвии: исторические очерки*, т. I, Filokalija, Rīga 1993.

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KONSTANTY KURYŁOWICZ

The influence of political and juridical aspects on the structure of the Polish Orthodox Church in the mid-war period

Słowa kluczowe: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Keywords: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Streszczenie

Wpływ aspektów politycznych i prawnych na strukturę polskiego Kościoła prawosławnego w okresie międzywojennym

Powrót na mapę Europy Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej po I wojnie światowej wiązało się z koniecznością odtworzenia jednolitego porządku prawnego na jej terenie, zbudowanego wcześniej na podstawach prawach trzech zaborców. W szczególności dotyczyło to regulacji Kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych. Traktat Wersalski z 28 czerwca 1919 r. nakładał na Rzeczpospolitą szereg obowiązków w zakresie tolerancji religijnej mniejszości. Niniejsza praca przedstawia treści aktów normatywnych dotyczących relacji Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej z Cerkwią Prawosławną funkcjonującą na jej terenie. Treść norm prawnych konstytucji II Rzeczpospolitej oraz norm rangi ustawowej (między innymi: Tymczasowych Przepisów z 1922 roku oraz Dekretu Prezydenta z 1938 roku) uzupełnione zostaje postanowieniami statutów Kościoła Prawosławnego. Materia prawna przeplata się z tłem historycznym, które w pewnym stopniu oddaje *ratio legis* przedmiotowych aktów prawnych.

Abstract

The influence of political and juridical aspects on the structure of the Polish Orthodox Church in the mid-war period

The restoration of the Republic of Poland to the map of Europe after the World War I was inherently related to the necessity of a restoration of a uniform legal order on the territory of the reborn state, since the basis of the law was grounded on the law systems of the three former partitioners. There was a necessity for a regulation of the relations between churches and other religious associations with the state. The Versailles Treaty of June 28, 1919 imposed a variety of obligations, regarding religious tolerance of the minorities. This work presents the contents of the

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normative acts regarding the relations of the Second Republic of Poland with the Polish Orthodox Church operating in its territory. The contents of the legal norms of the constitutions of the Second Polish Republic and the norms of a statutory rank (including the Temporary Provisions of the 1922 and the Presidential Decree of the 1938) are supplemented with the provisions of the statutes of the Orthodox Church. The legal matter is intertwined with the historical background, which, to some extent, clarifies the *ratio legis* for the aforementioned legal acts.

The year 1918, and with it – the end of the First World War – has resulted in a great deal of new challenges for the reborn Polish State. The State had to deal with several of political factors, that influenced its inner state of affairs. One of these factors was the legal situation of the religious associations present within the state. Among them was the Polish Orthodox Church, with its unique and difficult history, thus the legislative road to adoption of the yet-absent regulations was a long one. While the internal affairs of the Polish Orthodox Church were resolved within the religious association's own competences, there was no single public law regulation that could have served as a basis for the relationship between the Church and the State. The new international relationships that Rzeczpospolita found itself in (i.e. the Bolshevik Revolution and the creation of the new Russian State) were also unfavourable. The legal matter was even more complex because of the fact that still legally-binding, regulations left by the partitioning powers were present on the territory of the Polish State[2].

The legal systems of the each one of the partitioning states had, within them, the legal norms that interconnected the State and the religious associations. However, due to the existing differences between the systems of government in Russia, Prussia and Austria (from Russian supremacy over the religious associations and the elements of the tradition of Caesaropapism inherited after the Byzantine Empire; to the less-absolute supremacy system present in Austria and Prussia), the aforementioned interconnection varied between the state. This created a legislative chaos in the matters of the relationship between the state and the church in the reborn Rzeczpospolita[3]. Furthermore, the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28th of June 1919 has also imposed certain obligations, concerning the status of national and religious minorities, which the government of the newly reborn Poland had to accept. The Polish government was obligated to protect the exercise of religious practice, equality of civil rights, and to provide these freedoms to all residents of Poland, regardless of nationality or professed faith[4].

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[2] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia 1918-1939*, Warsaw 1989, p. 133-134.

[3] M. Pietrzak, *Prawo Wyznaniowe*, Lexis Nexis, Warsaw 2013, p. 111.

[4] Ks. S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Z historii Polskiego Kościoła Prawosławnego w okresie międzywojennym (1918-1939)*,

These conditions were reflected in the newly passed Statue of 17th March 1921 – The Constitution of the Republic of Poland (the so-called March Constitution)5, which thereon became the legal basis of the whole legal system of Poland, being the statue of a fundamental precedence over the other acts. The principles of exercising religious freedom has been defined, as well as the main goals of the religious policies of the reborn Rzeczpospolita. These matters were the essence of the Chapter V of the Constitution (articles 87 to 124), titled "Universal civic rights and duties"[6]. Provisions articles 110-116 and 120 raised the issue of the legal position of religious associations in Poland. Article 110 guaranteed equality before the law of all citizens, in the matters of the establishment, the supervision, management (at their own expense) of charitable, religious, social and educational organizations, while granting them the right to use their own minority language, or their own religious statues. Art. 111 guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion for all citizens. Every resident of the Polish state had a right to freely profess their faith, both privately and publicly, and to exercise the obligations stated by their religion or rite, as long as their actions did not stand in a direct violation of the public order or public morality.[6] Art. 112 secured the freedom of choice and the way of exercising one's freedom of participation in religious, while prohibiting any coercion regarding the participation in religious activities, unless the person was a subject to the parental authority.9 Thus, articles 110-112 concerned the freedom of individual citizens. Subsequently, art. 113-116 concerned the legal situation of religious associations. Art. 113 stated, that every association recognized by law has the right to organize their services, to own and manage the immovable and movable property, to dispose of its property and funds, either for religious, scientific or charitable purposes – provided that the action did not violate the general law. Art. 114 has introduced the principle of equality of religious denominations, with an addition, that the Roman Catholic Church had a principal position among otherwise equal denominations[7]. Art. 115 guaranteed, that minorities and religious associations recognized by law, have a possibility of governing themselves by their own law, which the State would not refuse to recognize, unless it contained provisions in contrary to the general law. The relations between the State and the Churches and other associations was to be definitively regulated in the future in an act of a statutory rank, adopted after the consultations with the

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[in:] *Wiadomości Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego,* 1984 nr 4, p. 43-44.

[5] Dz. U. 1921 nr 44 poz. 267; M. T. Staszewski, *Wolność sumienia w II Rzeczypospolitej (szkic zagadnienia),* „Posłannictwo", 1986, nr 3/4, p. 117; H. Świątkowski, *Wyznania religijne w Polsce,* Warsaw 1937; M. T. Staszewski *Wolność sumienia przed trybunałem II Rzeczypospolitej,* Warsaw 1970; M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…,* p. 134.

[6] H. Świątkowski, *Niektóre aspekty prawne stosunku państwa do wyznań w Polsce przedwrześniowej*, „Państwo i Prawo", 1959, nr 1, p. 28.

[7] M. T. Staszewski, *Wolność sumienia…*, p. 17, p. 119-120; A. Ajnenkiel, *Polskie Konstytucje*, Warsaw 1991, p. 252.

authorized representatives of a given denomination.[8] Art. 116 specified, that religious associations that were not recognized by law were to be recognized by the State provided, that the teachings and the internal organization of the associations were not in a contrary to the public order, nor public morality[9]. The cited regulations clearly show the division between the recognized and unrecognized religious associations. Moreover, the process of recognition of a previously unrecognized denomination did not require a passing of an act of a statutory rank, thus it was possible for a competent minister himself to recognize an association by a simple ordinance[10]. On the other hand, an important regulative feature of the above-mentioned regulations, concerning the situation of the recognized religious associations, with an exception of the Roman Catholic Church, was the fact, that to determine the legal situation of the association, it was required by law to pass a bill of a statutory rank concerning the matter – thus making the situation of any religious association dependent on the will of the State. Taking the aforementioned facts into consideration, the Orthodox Church in Poland was a denomination that was a recognized religious association, without a regulated legal position[11].

First attempts to normalize the legal situation of the Orthodox Church were undertaken by Metropolitan Jerzy in the January 1922[12] on the first council of bishops. These attempts were related to the reaction of the state authorities to the intensive activities of the Moscow Patriarch Tikhon, aimed at the regulation of the matters of the Orthodox Church in Poland independently from the Polish Government[13]. The efforts made to communicate with the Orthodox bishops have failed, therefore the draft of the bill submitted by the government (with the amendments made during the negotiations) was signed on 30th of January 1922 – and then published by the WRiOP Ministry[14]. Minister Andrzej Ponikowski in the "Monitor Polski" [15] and "Dziennik Urzędowy MWRiOP"[16] on the 16th of February 1922". On the 23rd of February 1922 the MWRiOP has notified the bishops and voivodes about the adoption of the „Tymczasowe przepisy o stosunkach rządu do Kościoła Prawosławnego w Polsce" (The Temporary provi-

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[8] Ks. H. E. Wyczawski, *Cerkiew prawosławna w II Rzeczypospolitej* [in:] *Kościoły w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 1980, p. 167.
[9] M. T. Staszewski, *Wolność sumienia.*, p. 119.
[10] H. Świątkowski, *Niektóre aspekty.*, p. 29-30, Ibidem, p. 30, footnote 5; or M. T. Staszewski, *Mniejszości wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej*, „Zeszyty Argumentów", 1967, nr 3, p. 75.
[11] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 136.
[12] A. Borkowski, *Między Konstantynopolem a Moskwą. Źródła greckie do autokefalii Kościoła prawosławnego w Rzeczypospolitej (1919-1927)*, Białystok 2015, p. 143.
[13] M. Papierzyńska – Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 140.
[14] Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education.
[15] Monitor Polski – The Official Gazette of the Republic of Poland, abbreviated M.P.
[16] M. P. 1992, Nr 32.

sions on the Government's relations with the Orthodox Church in Poland)", with a due regard, that the provisions set out in the regulations are binding from the date of the publication of the legal act[17]. The „Temporary Provisions" were supposed to embody the legislator's ad hoc response to the problems related to the existence of the Orthodox Church in Poland, before an act of a statutory rank could be adopted. This ad hoc nature of the act was further proven by the tone of the Preamble of the act: "In order to standardize the procedure in the matters of the Orthodox Church in the territory of Rzeczpospolita Polska, the Government, personified by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Education, for the transitional period – until the adoption of the Act concerning the relationship of the Polish State to the Orthodox Church, in accordance with the provisions of art. 115 of the Constitutional Act of 17/3, 1921, establishes the following principle"[18]. However, contrary to the preamble's declarations, those Temporary provisions remained in force for many years to come, thus creating a legal framework for the actions of the state administration in the relations with the Orthodox Church in Poland.

The regulation has been widely criticized, in particular, for its inaccurate legal norms. The criticism, voiced by lawyers, primarily focused on the fact that the Temporary Provisions could not substitute an act of a statutory rank regulating the relations of The State and The Church, as stated by both: aforementioned article 115 of the March Constitution, and the article 3, clause 5 of the same act, which stated, that: "Ordinances of the government, which concern the rights or duties of the citizens have a binding power only if they were issued based on a delegation from an act of a statutory rank and with a reference to the delegation". Both conditions mentioned in fine of the quoted provision were not met by the Temporary Provisions act. It was also argued, that the act violated the provisions of the 31st of July 1919 act concerning the Official Gazette of the Republic of Poland which stated, that every act of general law was to be published in the "Dziennik Ustaw RP" [19]. The State Authorities has also voiced their concerns about the Temporary Provisions act. Prime Minister W. Grabski, while recognizing the lack of legal basis for the regulation of 30 January 1922, explained: "Factors of political and factual nature caused, however, the government to publish the act, these factors – after a careful consideration – prompted the creation of a certain modus vivendi in the government's relations with the Orthodox Church, and the temporary regulation of these relations until an act was passed in accordance with the art. 115. The provisions, despite not being formally proper, constitute the actual basis for the bilateral relations be-

[17] Ks. S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Z historii…*, p. 18-19.

[18] J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii prawosławnej w Polsce. Studium z zakresu polskiej polityki i administracji wyznaniowej*, Biblioteka Polska, Warsaw 1931, p. *75*.

[19] M.P 1922, Nr 32, poz. 20. J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 76; J. Sawicki, *Studia nad położeniem prawnym mniejszości religijnych w Państwie Polskim*, Warsaw 1937, p. 258-259.

tween the administrative bodies and the Orthodox Church"[20]. On the 5th of November 1924, the Ministry of Justice, in a letter to the WRiOP Ministry stated that: "The Ministry of Justice manifests fundamental reservations regarding the legal binding force of the Temporary Provisions regarding the Government's relations with the Orthodox Church in Poland[21]„. Such deeply critical statements, did not, however, stand in the way of the 21st October 1924 decision of the Minister of WRiOP, which extended the legal binding force of the Temporary Provisions on the territory of the Vilnius Diocese[22]. A legal act, issued without a proper legal basis[23] consisted of provisions that regulated several important issues in the matters of the organization of the Church, in the sphere of both internal and external relations.

The Council of Bishop in the same personal composition in which it was held for the first time in January 1922, was to become a legal representative of the Orthodox Church in Poland. The validity of its resolutions was dependent on the consent of the exarch (The Metropolitan) and two diocesan bishops. The Exarch had the right to exercise his metropolitan canonical jurisdiction within the former Warsaw-Chelm diocese. In addition, he had the right to appoint, transfer and remove from the office bishops throughout the country – however, a prior ordination by the Council of Bishops was required, as well as a consultation with the government. Every bishop was obliged to pledge an oath of allegiance to the Polish State – represented by the minister of WRiOP. Bishop's main competence was to appoint, transfer, and remove priests from the office of the rector of a parish; He also informed the Voivode about the candidates for vacancies. The Voivode could raise objections to the candidacy within two months. The absence of objections voiced within this deadline resulted in the canonical institution of the priest for the rector of the parish. The bishop notified the starosta about every transfer of a priest, who then forwarded the information to The Voivode. The WRiOP Minister had a right to present a bishop with a demand to immediately remove of a priest from the office, if any of the following conditions were fulfilled: the priest has lost Polish citizenship, has committed a crime, has committed an immoral act or an act that resulted in damage to the interests of the state. If a candidate for the rector of a parish was taking the office right after being ordained for a priest, he was obliged to pledge an oath of allegiance to the state, represented by the starosta. Documents regarding the civil status and other matters were to be drafted in Polish. However, it was possible to draw up documents in the language spoken by the parishioners, provided the original was written in Polish. In contacts with the State and local

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[20] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej. Studium historyczno-prawne,* Warsaw 1988, p. 120-121.

[21] Ks. S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Z historii…*, p. 19.

[22] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 142.

[23] J. Matwiejuk, *Status prawny Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego* [in:] „Elpis", 1/1, Białystok 1999. p. 260.

authorities, bishops were obliged to use Polish as the official language. Polish language was to be compulsorily taught in all seminaries in the Polish State. The clergy consistories located in Warsaw, Krzemieniec, Grodno, Nowogródek, Wilno were legally approved to continue their operations. Decanal conventions were to take place only after providing a competent voivode with a prior notification.

General Councils, with the participation of laymen, were to be convened by the exarch, with a prior consent of the WRiOP Minister. The personal composition of the General Council was to be approved by the Council of Bishops. Any appointment of a new diocesan bishop and vicar bishop was to be dependent on the government approval. Any territorial in parishes and dioceses were to be consulted with the WRiOP Minister. The Government, in accordance with the provisions art. 111 and 113 of the March Constitution, has guaranteed the freedom of public religious practices and services for the Orthodox people. Religious education in public schools, for Orthodox students, was compulsory but was to be taught in a language native for the students. Establishment of Church Brotherhoods was permitted. Their statutes were subject to the approval of the WRiOP Minister. The salaries of the Diocesan Bishops and consistors were to be paid by the State Treasury until the matters of the Orthodox clergy's salaries were regulated within a proper act of law. The Bishop-Vicars did not receive renumeration from the State Treasury. The education of the candidates for priests were to be provided in seminaries recognized by the government. The curriculum was to be approved by the WRiOP Minister, who, in addition, approved the candidates for the seminaries' professors – selected from the appointments made by the Council of Bishops. The graduates of foreign theological studies were to be allowed to become priests of the Orthodox Church in Poland only after receiving the consent of the State, and after obtaining Polish citizenship[24]. These regulations allowed for the state authorities to maintain control over the personal and internal matters of the Orthodox Church in Poland. Furthermore, the provisions obliged the clergy to remain absolutely loyal to the state administration. Thus, the internal Orthodox Church organization, based on the synodal-consistory principles, having the significance of the secular factors removed from the internal affairs, facilitated the ability of The State to control the organization of The Church and has strengthened its bond with The State. The Temporary Provisions did not include the matters essential for the functioning of The Church, such as the problem of legal personality of The Church, the issue of property and actual assets in control of The Church, the number of parishes and the salaries of the lower clergy. A regulation concerning these matters was to be included in future normative acts. As a result, the internal affairs of The

[24] J. S. Langrod, *O autokefalii…*, p. 72-75*;* J. Andrejuk, *Problem autokefalii Kościoła Prawosławnego w okresie międzywojennym*, „Kalendarz Prawosławny" 1985, p. 90-91*;* ks. H. E. Wyczawski, *Cerkiew prawosławna w II Rzeczypospolitej* [in:] *Kościół w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 1980, p. 167.

Church were, to a large extent, dependent on the position of the state officials, ranging from the mere Starosta, to the WRiOP Minister[25].

An important fact, from the point of view of the organizational problems related to the application of the Temporary Provisions, was again, the aforementioned defect of the legal act – it was not an act of a statutory rank. According to the hierarchy of legal acts, the leftover provisions of the partitioning powers were still in force, including ones on the territories of the former Russian Empire. Therefore, up until the normalization of the internal organization of the Orthodox Church in Poland by an act of a statutory rank, in accordance with the requirements set by the provisions of the March Constitution, in addition to the canon law of the Orthodox Church from before 1917, the legal provisions issued by the former Russian state regarding the legal status, organization of The Church and its clergy continued to be applied – provided, that these provisions were not in a conflict with Polish general law[26]. In this complex situation it was crucial to indicate whether the Orthodox Church in Poland had legal personality, and whether it had a judicial capacity, and, secondly, to determine the legal status of the Church by an act of a statutory rank.

The Supreme Court was of the opinion, that the Orthodox Church in Poland as a whole was a legal person of the public law; however, it cannot act as The Church in court cases, until its legal status has been regulated by an act of a statutory rank. On his behalf, consistories of the diocese in question should act, in accordance with their local jurisdiction[27]. There was still a necessity for a statutory regulation of the Church's legal status. However, the preparation of a draft of the relevant bill required time, and the process has encountered obstacles. One of them was the position of the Orthodox Church itself and its attitude towards the development of the relations between the Roman Catholic Church – The Government of The Republic of Poland – and the Orthodox Church; these relations relied heavily upon the issue of the disputed property of the Uniate and Post-Catholic temples[28]. The first assertions, regarding the shape of the draft, were prepared in September 1923, and were sent to the Orthodox metropolitan Dionizy for his opinion. In this project, as well as in subsequent ones, the issue of the property rights belonging to the Orthodox Church seemed the most problematic. This raised disputes, where the Government was of the opinion, that The State has a right to dispose of the church property, and that the property rights belong to The State itself. On the other hand, The Metropolitan

[25] A. Friszke, *Kościoły wschodnie w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, „Więź", 1988, nr 7-8, p. 148.

[26] J. Sawicki, *Studia nad położeniem…*, p. *261.* J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 102-104; H. Świątkowski, *Wyznania religijne w Polsce ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ich stanu prawnego.* cz I. *Wyznania i związki religijne*, Warsaw 1937, p. 147; M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 149-150.

[27] J. Sawicki, *Studia nad położeniem…*, p. 262-264; H. Świątkowski, *Wyznania religijne…*, p. 149150.

[28] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 155.

claimed that it is the Orthodox Church that is the owner of the real estate and any movable properties that the Orthodox Church possesses[29]. The first, preliminary draft of the bill was finished in April 1924. It became a starting point for a wider discussion on this topic. The Prime Minister W. Grabski stood by the opinion, that the preparation of the details of provisions should be postponed, until the Concordat with the Holy See was adopted – so that the statue would not complicate the negotiations with the Vatican[30]. Just after the ratification of The Concordat, on March 28, 1925, at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, the WRiOP Minister has announced, that in the coming days the key problematic issues, to be included in the provisions of the statute regarding the position of The Orthodox Church in Poland, shall be described[31].

On 13th of April, The Church authorities, taking into the account the work carried out by the WRiOP Ministry regarding the bill, have developed and submitted a code of regulations on the internal church organization, under the title "The Basic Statute of the internal canonical

organization of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church"[32]. It consisted of 44 articles. Article 1 stated, that the Orthodox Church in Poland has an autocephalous organization. The second article stated, that: „the internal affairs of The Church shall be free of governance by the statutes, with a proper reflection towards the general law". The Statute regulated the internal Church organization and listed its institutions. The Statute introduced a new body in the form of The Metropolitan Council (Rada Metropolitalna), consisting of clergy and laymen, with a task of providing The Metropolitan with a broader spectrum of support from the secular circles, and to strengthen metropolitan position in the relations with the government. The Statue provisions regulated its matters in a general way, for example: The General Council was only mentioned. Relevant regulations regarding critical Church tasks, such as religious education, were not included. The Government refrained from any reaction to the course of works on the Statute, and the work on a Bill itself seemed to be slowing down[33]. Concerned by this development, the Synod of Bishops attempted to exert political pressure on the government, by seeking support in the minority circles present in the Sejm. These actions caused concern in the government circles[34].

Metropolitan Dionizy has also convened a Synod session lasting from 26th of November to 3rd of December 1925. On behalf of the Synod of Bishops, he has addressed the Prime Minister with a memorial, in which he pointed out, inter alia, that the normalization of the relations of The State and The Orthodox

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[29] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 160.
[30] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 157.
[31] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 166.
[32] J. S. Langrod, *O autokefalii…*, p. 108.
[33] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 158-159.
[34] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Sprawa ukraińska w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1922-1926*, Kraków 1979, p. 275.

Church has not moved forward, or even deteriorated, all while the outdated Temporary Provisions were still in force. After a comprehensive debate about the state of the Orthodox Church in Poland, the Synod found it necessary, among other solutions: to submit to the state legislative bodies, within a 6 week period, a draft of the bill with an aim to normalize the legal status of The Church; a settlement regarding the restoration of movable and immovable property to the Church; a proposal for a regulation of the number and the distribution of Orthodox parishes; an approval of the normative statute of the Orthodox Brotherhoods. The Synod has also stressed, that there have been cases, in which the Roman Catholic bishops establish new Roman Catholic parishes, in places where secular authorities have closed an Orthodox parish, as well as cases where Roman Catholic clergy ordain Orthodox churches to Roman Catholic ones[35]. In support of the above-mentioned metropolitan's memorial, representatives of the clergy and lay members of the community, gathered in Warsaw from 10th to 12th 1926 have adopted a memorandum in support of The Metropolitan's memorial, with a petition to accelerate the process of regulating the legal status of the Polish Orthodox Church – through a government approval of the statute developed by the hierarch of The Church.41.On 9th of March 1926, the Orthodox Church has submitted its own draft of the bill in regard to the legal status of The Church – which has been ignored by the WRiOP Ministry[36]. The draft developed by The Synod has been rejected by The Ministry, mainly because a key principle of the primacy of the state legislation over the affairs of a religious association has been omitted. Thus, the ministerial draft, approved by Minister S. Grabski became a basis for further negotiations. Grabski personally started talks with The Metropolitan, who then prepared the draft's amendments. The agreed draft, being a compromise, was signed on 14th of April, 1926[37].

After the May Coup of the 1926, the legislative work has been discontinued, while on 26th of May 1926, The Metropolitan, taking the advantage of an emerging political opportunity, has stated in a letter to the WRiOP Minister, that the April Draft did not meet his expectations and, therefore, he expects a resumption of negotiations "on sound foundations"[38]. A few weeks later, on the 1st of June, the Synod has decided to publish, prepared in the 1925 Internal Statute of the Church (Statut Wewnętrzny Kościoła); then, on 1st of July 1926, the Synod has adopted a draft of the statute "On the Legal Status of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church"[39]. The resolutions of The Synod, falling outside of the norms reconstructed based on the provisions of The Statute, were

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[35] S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Z historii…*, p. 23-24; Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 168.
[36] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 158.
[37] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 160.
[38] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 169.
[39] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 161; J. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 105.

rejected by the government[40]. The situation was not further affected by the conversation between Metropolitan Dionizy and Marshal Pilsudski held on July 10th, 1926, in which The Metropolitan complained about the impasse in talks with the government. Similarly, the existence of the threat of Muscovite interference in the affairs of the Orthodox Church in Poland has not significantly change the course of affairs.[41]

The draft agreed with The Metropolitan on 14th of April were to become a basis for further considerations between the State and the Orthodox Church, supplemented with the articles for which The Metropolitan did not consent. Obviously disagreeing with this turn of events, The Metropolitan began to seek support in wider secular circles, for example through organization of a congress of representatives and laity in Pochayiv, January 1927. The congress approved the church's draft of the bill and the statute. On the 26th of March 1927 a memorandum to the government has been issued, criticizing the Temporary Provisions and demanding the normalization of the legal status of the Orthodox Church in Poland. The clergy began sending memorials to the WRiOP Ministry and began adopting resolutions at diocesan meetings of deans. These acts resulted in a meeting of the WRiOP Minister K. Świtalski and The Metropolitan, where it was agreed, that the government would reconsider the Synod's project of 1926, and – if the project was to be rejected – to present its own, by the February 1929[42].

However, contrary to the announcements, the ministry did not manifest any initiative in this matter until 1930s[43]. The slowdown of work could have been influenced by the fact, that on 15th of February 1927, a congress of Roman Catholic bishops took place in Włocławek. The participants of the congress sent a letter to the Prime Minister, in which they expressed their deep concern about the "news, about the ongoing negotiations of the Government with the Orthodox Church in Poland, which will result in, among others, the approval of the possession of properties of the Orthodox Church". In the remainder of the letter, the bishops were of the opinion, that such regulation would be unacceptable to them, because, first of all, the property matters of the Roman Catholic Church, pending at the moment, should be finalized. It seems, that these events had an impact on the legislative process, as the promulgation of the statute regarding the legal status of the Orthodox Church in Poland occurred after the negotiations with the Catholic Church has been completed, and the parties (being The State and the Holy See) have signed the relevant documents. Another element,

[40] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 169.
[41] ks. S. Żeleżniakowicz, *Z historii…*, p. 25-26.
[42] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 161; K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 92-93.
[43] J. Andrejuk, *Problem autokefalii…*, p. 92-93; ks. S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Z Historii…*, p. 26-27; S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów prawosławia w II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: niektóre problemy na tle polityki wyznaniowej państwa: 1918-1939*, Warsaw 1985, p. 56.

that influenced the process of the normalization of the status of the Orthodox Church in Poland was the beginning of the process of the mass restitution proceedings, initiated by the Roman Catholic Church, starting from1929. The authorities of the Orthodox Church, disagreeing with the steps being taken, tried to resolve the difficult situation, however it seemed impossible to achieve a resolution through an agreement between the Orthodox Episcopate and The Government. It has been decided, that in the most important matters for The Church, the decisions should be relied on the legitimacy of the institution of the General Council. It was a particularly important decision-making body, as it consisted of votes not only of the hierarchy, but also of the clergy, delegates and the faithful participating in the council. Decisions made with such legitimization were difficult to underestimate.

As the convocation of the General Council, according to the Temporary Provisions, required an approval of the government, Metropolitan Dionizy, on the 22nd of November 1929, has sent an appropriate letter to the WRiOP Ministry, asking for the permission to convene the Council. The Ministry's delay in providing a response prompted Metropolitan Dionizy to head for a personal audience to the WRiOP Minister on 11th of December 1929. The Minister did not raise any objections to the convening of the Council during the meeting but has requested to make the Council's statute and program available[44]. The next day, the Synod of Bishops hurriedly adopted the statute of the Council, the dates of the elections at all levels of the church organization, and the Council's program – and has set the Council's commencement date on the 12th of February 193056. On December 18th 1929, The Metropolitan's Office gave a press release, and on December 21st the deans were sent the electoral regulations, statutes, and the program of the Council – in a number corresponding to the number of subordinate parishes. On December 22nd, The Metropolitan body "Woskresnoje cztienije" has posted a message, from the Synod's Chancellery, regarding the convening of the Council, with regulations and the program attached[45]. In a letter of December 21st, 1929, Metropolitan Dionizy has informed the Polish government, through the WRiOP Minister, of the intention to convene the Council, and has asked for a permission to convene the Council in Warsaw, from February 12th, 1930. The Council's regulations, statute, and work program has been attached. The Ministry's department of denominations chancellery received the aforementioned documents only on December 24th, that is – when the election activities have already commenced, and the public has been informed about The Church's proceedings, without a written permission of the relevant authorities[46]. The Minister S. Czerwiński, immediately after the news of the Council has appeared in the press, in a letter of December 21st 1929, ad-

[44] A. K. Switicz, *Prawosławnaja cerkow w Polsze i jejo awtokiefalija*, Buenos Aires 1959, p. 166-167; J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 132-133.
[45] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 167.
[46] J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 132.

dressed The Metropolitan Dionizy and forbade holding any elections to the Council, while, simultaneously, ordering the Voivodes not to issue permits for the parish meetings[47]. WRiOP Ministry has expressed reservations about the electoral statutes, in which a clear quantitative advantage was recognized, of clergy over the laity, and therefore it was pointed out that the conditions for a proper protection of the laymen interests were not met. It was also pointed out, that the legal norms set out by the Temporary Provisions were violated, as the necessary, prior consent from the WRiOP Ministry to convene the Council has not been obtained[48].

A conflict arose, which was resolved only after an audience of Metropolitan Dionizy to the President I. Mościcki, on January 10th, 1930. As a result of the compromise worked out between the Synod of Bishops and the government, A Commission was established, consisting of the representatives of the Orthodox Church authorities and the government[49]. The Commission has held 10 conferences, resulting in the newly redacted statute and electoral ordinance, the general principles and the work program of The Council. In addition, the commission resolved the issue of the "Pre-Conciliar" meeting of 30. During this meeting, as in the coming General Council, the quantitative relation between clergy and laity was to be set at 2/3, two for clergy, and three for laymen[50]. The works of The Commission concluded with the promulgation of the rescript by the President of the Republic of Poland on May 30th, 1930, which authorized the convocation of the National Council – with the pre-conciliar meeting[51]. The President has also sent a relevant letter to the WRiOP Minister, with an order to issue relevant dispositions, aimed at the implementation of the undertaken decisions[52]. On 31st of May, 1930, the Synod of Bishops has approved and adopted a resolution, summarizing the work of The Commission, consisting of representatives of the government and church authorities – in the form of regulations, general principles, the electoral ordinance of The Council, and has sent them to the WRiOP Minister for approval[53]. On 1st of June 1930, in connection with the

President's Message to the Nation, Metropolitan Dionizy has issued a pastoral letter to the faithful, in which he announced the positive decision of the President of the Republic of Poland, regarding the convening of the National Council, in which he has stated that in this way "a new and a bright page has been turned in the life of our saint Church". In addition, a date has been set for the pre-conciliar meeting on the 29th of June, 1930[54]. On the 2nd of June 1930,

[47] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 171.
[48] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 168-169.
[49] A. K. Switicz, *Prawosławnaja cerkow…*, p. 167 i 169; S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 58.
[50] J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 133-134.
[51] S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 58-59.
[52] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 175.
[53] J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 141-142.
[54] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 175-176.

the Message of the President was solemnly read in the Orthodox Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Mary Magdalene in Warsaw by the Archbishop of Grodno Aleksy (Gromadzki), in the presence of, among others, Metropolitan Dionizy and the representatives of the Government. On the same day, the President has hosted The Metropolitan Dionizy and the entire Synod on an audience[55]. The first session of the pre-conciliar meeting took place from June 29th to July 3rd, 1930. The inauguration of the meeting was highly official. First, the WRiOP Minister gave a speech, during which, everyone has been standing up. Then, Metropolitan Dionizy took the floor[56].

During the first session of the Pre-Conciliar meeting, a presidium was appointed, whose chairman was to be Metropolitan Dionizy. 2 vice-presidents, and 2 secretaries were also appointed. The rules of the meeting were read aloud, and six committees has been appointed: Religious, Internal legal and organizational, External legal and organizational, educational and so on[57]. The topics of the papers, to be prepared for the next session of the meeting, were determined. The first session of the pre-conciliar meeting was closed by Metropolitan Dionizy declaring that the date of the next session would be set by the meeting presidium, depending on the progress of works in the committees, after receiving approval from the WRiOP minister[58]. The works continued, but with a progressing slowdown. Within a five years period, only the first, fourth, fifth and sixth committees attempted to accomplish their tasks, while the second and third committee, whose results were to be of the most significance, did not even proceed with their sessions. The situation was different in the mixed commission, which members included the representatives of government authorities and the church hierarchy. During the five-year period it has held about one hundred meetings. The second plenary session, which took place on the day of Marshal Pilsudski's death, 12th of May – 14th of May 1935, did not bring any significant results. The works have been summarized, and the composition of members of the committees has been filled in necessary cases. The works of the inactive committees, second and third, were taken over by the mixed commission[59].

The works of the mixed commission on the bill on the relations between The State and The Orthodox Church in Poland were complete on 3rd of December 1936, and the talks initiated with the Orthodox Episcopate on 9th of March 1937 were finalized on the 8th of April. However, the legislative process could have entered the proper phase only in January of 1938, when the work on

[55] J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 139-140. A. K. Switicz, *Prawosławnaja Cerkow…*, p. 185.
[56] A. K. Switicz, *Prawosławnaja Cerkow…*, p. 173-174; J. S. Langrod, *O Autokefalii…*, p. 150-153.
[57] S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 59.
[58] A. K. Switicz, *Prawosławnaja Cerkow…*, p. 179.
[59] S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 59.

the statute regarding the post-Uniate land was coming to an end[60]. At that point, The Government has submitted a draft of the bill to The Sejm, regarding the right granted to The President to issue a Decree on the relationship of The State to the Orthodox Church. After adopting the act about the power granted to The President, on 18th of November 1938, The President I. Mościcki has signed the aforementioned decree[61]. A few days earlier, on the 7th of November 1938, The Synod, having become acquainted with the draft of The Decree, has decided, that the draft of the decree fully corresponds the nature of organization of the Eastern Churches, and that it satisfies the interests of The Orthodox Church in Poland. Therefore, The Synod has adopted a resolution, which stated, that an agreement has been reached, consistent with the spirit of The Constitution, the intentions of the state authorities and the legal representatives of the Church. The Synod entrusted The Metropolitan with the notifying the WRiOP Minister about the decision. On the same day, The Synod has adopted a draft internal statute of the Orthodox Church and has decided to submit it for an approval to the WRiOP Minister[62].

The Decree of 18th of November 1938 consisted of 85 articles and 112 points. An annex to The Decree consisted of a text of the oath of The Metropolitan and bishops, and the consistory, on the faithfulness to the Rzeczpospolita. Firstly, The Decree stated, that the Orthodox Church in Poland was autocephalous, i.e. independent from non-national authority, while simultaneously, in the same article, the legislator indicated, that The Church "maintains unity in the dogmatic and canonical matters with the Catholic Eastern Orthodox Church". The freedom of the organization of the Orthodox Church, within the limits of the state legislation, was recognized. Article 9 stated, that The Metropolitan, being both the archbishop of the diocese of Warsaw and hieroarchimandrite of the Pochayiv Lavra was the head of The Church, being its Chief administrator and representative. The Metropolitan was to be elected at the Election Council, consisting of every bishop, as well as the representatives of the clergy and the faithful. The supreme body of The Church, with legislative powers regarding the matters of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church was the General Council, consisting of bishops as well as representatives of clergy and laity. Thus a change has occurred, where the internal organization of The Church moved from the dominant in the years 1918-1938 "Synodal-Consistory" system, where the supreme authority was in the hands of bishops, towards a conciliar system. This system, based on the principle of Electoral Episcopate and deans, included a significant voice of the representatives of the

[60] The Statue regarding the disclosure of the ownership of the post-Uniate lands in the mortgage books, (Dz. U. 1938 nr 36 poz. 303).
[61] Dekret z dnia 18 listopada 1938 r. (Dz. U. 1938 nr 88 poz. 597); K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 173-175.
[62] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 183-184.

faithful. This Election Council was to be called only exceptionally, by The Metropolitan, preceded by a President's Message to The Nation.

The matters exceeding the competences of diocesan bishops were handed to the Council of Bishops. Such Council was to be convened at least once a year. The executive body of the Council of Bishops was The Synod, consisting of The Metropolitan (who also presided), 2 diocesan bishops – elected every 2 years, and the Orthodox Chaplain Bishop. In its previous legal status, The Synod consisted of all of the diocesan bishops. Introduction of the Chaplain Bishop to the synod was the new element of the regulation. The competences of the Council of Bishops in the sphere of the religious matters, the administrative and court matters were regulated in the Internal Statute. Any other matter, as a result of the government's actions, were left to the opinion of The Council. Moreover, one of the crucial tasks of the Council of Bishops was the appointment of new bishops. Collective bodies, such as the Central Audit Commission or Diocesan Audit Commissions were separated, and their representatives elected at diocesan meetings. The internal organizational structure of The Church remained mostly unchanged. It was divided into two parts: the collegial institutions and individual institutions. The collegial institutions consisted of: The General Council, The Council of Bishops, the Synod of Bishops, diocesan meetings, diocesan consistory. In addition, art. 47 of The Decree regulated the possibility of the lay people to establish brotherhoods, based on the Association Act.

The second element of the division, the individual institutions, included: the Metropolitan, a Diocesan Bishop, Suffrage Bishop, a parish priest, a parish vicar. Staff matters were regulated to the last detail, due to their importance for the implementation of The State's policies towards the Orthodox Church. Holding a church office was dependent on whether a person was a Polish citizen (art. 48). A candidate for clergy should have completed country's theological college; a condition only the WRiOP minister could have exempted from (art. 28). Every bishop transfer or appointment had to be approved by the WRiOP Minister. In minor cases, i.e. individual priests, The Voivode provided an approval (art. 40). A decision refusing the transfer of a given candidate did not have to be substantiated in any way, or a simple "contrary to the interests of The State" was used. Every dispute between a bishop and a voivode, in connection with the decisions on the office of a dean, priest or vicar were settled finally by the WRiOP Minister, after a consultation with The Metropolitan. The Metropolitan was obliged to inform the state administration about his intention to visit a parish, as early as two weeks before the visit. The same requirement was set for the bishops, within their competences.

In total, The Decree granted The State with the right to intervene in the church matters in 44 cases, which constituted for almost a half of the provisions of the act. The manner in which the internal church matters were dealt with heavily depended on the decisions of the supervisory state authorities. This amounted to a significant limitation for the constitutionally guaranteed „free-

dom of internal governance". The education of the clergy were to commence only at the State Secondary School of Theology or at the Theology School at the University of Warsaw (Józef Pilsudski University), and only those who have completed the above-mentioned schools were to be ordained for priests (art. 40). The stated took over the duty to maintain a state dormitory for the students and high school students. The education of psalmists was to take place in schools which were subject to the general state regulations, i.e. The Private Education Act (art. 45). The creation of new monasteries and an admission to a monastery congregation of a person who had undertook a novitiate or have taken a religious vow abroad required the permission of the Minister of Education. An appointment for the head of the monastery depended on the voivode's consent (art. 46). The matters of military religious services have been delegated to the competence of the Minister of Military Affairs (art. 65). The Polish language was to be the official language of the church authorities and every church body. The church press was to be published exclusively in Polish. Any press in foreign language were to be closed. The clergy was obliged to say prayers for the prosperity of the Republic of Poland and its President during services, and on public holidays a solemn service was to be held, with a chant „Boże coś Polskę" (art. 8).

The Decree said little about The Church's property matters, referring to the issue only in the provision art. 82, which referred to yet another, future law to be adopted. The property was to be left in the possession of the Orthodox Church, if it remained in the factual and peaceful possession, and no opposition of the state authorities has been stated – even, if the property were under the compulsory state management, due to the decree on the compulsory management of 28th of December 1918 (Dekret w przedmiocie przymusowego zarządu z dnia 28 grudnia 1918 r.), or were otherwise taken over by the State Treasury, due to the Act on the takeover of the real estate in certain powiats of the Republic of Poland of the 17th of December 1920[63]. Legal personality has been granted to The Church as a whole, The Metropolitan diocese, bishoprics, monasteries and parish temples. A land reform has been announced, in the sphere of the property rights to real estate remaining in possession of the Orthodox Church (art. 57 et.al.). Art. 64 specified the monthly salary of the clergy. The Metropolitan was to receive 1075 zlotys and 800 zlotys for the maintenance of The Metropolitan seat, diocesan bishops were to receive 700 and 500 zlotys for the maintenance of the episcopal seat, 60 zlotys were to be given for priests, 35 for vicars and 25 for deacons[64].

It should be noted, that The Decree of the President of the Republic of Poland of 18th of November 1938, On the relationship of The State to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church is the first legal act in the history of the Or-

[63] Dz. Praw P. Pol. 1918.21.67 oraz Dz. U. 1921.4.17, accordingly.
[64] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 184-191; S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 77-79; K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 77-79.

thodox Church in Poland that regulates the Church's legal status in Poland in such a comprehensive manner. The state of the uncertainty – criticized by the representatives of the state administration as well as the clergy lawyers and faithful – resulting from the Temporary Provisions act, lasting since 1922, has been resolved. On the other hand The Orthodox Church in Poland has been significantly dominated by the state and its polices, although the structure of The Church has been changed from the model that enabled more possibilities of control (the Synodal-Consistory model), towards the Conciliar model – being less susceptible to influences over individuals holding various offices. However, it must be noted, that the attempts at subjugation of religious associations were a manifestation of a typical activity for a state in this historical period, and it was manifested towards most of the religious associations located on its territory. Just three weeks after The Decree has been issued on the 10th of December 1938 the Internal Statue of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church has been approved by the Council of Ministers[65] and it has been published in the „Dziennik Ustaw" on the 30th of the same month. The Internal Statue was an extremely complex act, which comprehensively regulated the competences of The Metropolitan, Diocesan Bishops, as well as provided the clergy with methods of selecting members of the Election Council, the General Council and the Synod of Bishops. Critical matters of the religious education and the church courts have been regulated as well[66]. There was a number of attachments to The Statue[67]. By the Ordinance of the WRiOP Minister issued on the 6th of May 1939, regarding The Statue of the Consistors of the Holy Polish Autocephalous Orthodox

Church the Statue of the Orthodox Consistors has been legally recognized, which, among other matters, regulated the organizational proceedings and the economic matters of The Church[68]. On the 23rd of June, 1939, the statute regarding the legal status of the Orthodox Church's property (Ustawa o uregulowaniu stanu prawnego majątków Kościołą Prawosławnego) has been adopted, and then, on the 30th of June 1939 it has been published in the „Dziennik Ustaw"[69].

The statue was applicable towards the real estate and other property rights which, on the day of 11th of November 1918 were in the possession of the legal persons of the Orthodox Church in the territory of the Republic of Poland[70]. The regulation was based, to a large extent, on the principle of applying a property right towards the state of possession, based on the state of affairs present for the 19th of November 1939. Thus, if a state of possession has met the conditions specified in the art. 2 of the Act (i.e. it was factual, public, peaceful and in ac-

[65] Dz. U. 1938 nr 103 poz. 679; S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 77.
[66] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 176.
[67] S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 77.
[68] M. P. 1939 nr 136 poz. 319; K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 176, footnote 204.
[69] Dz. U. 1939 nr 57 poz. 370; M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 193.
[70] S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 82.

cordance with the ordinance of the General Commissioner of the Eastern Lands of the 22nd of October 1919) a property right was applied to this possession. Paragraph 2nd of the article 2 indicated, that the Orthodox Church has the property right in respect to all of the real estate took within the compulsory administration of The state, or took over by the State, on the basis of the Decree of 16th of December 1918, or the Act of the 17th of December 1920, under the condition, that the real estate was in the possession of the legal persons of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church with no objection of the state authorities, and if the possession was factual and peaceful. It is indicated, that over 52,200 ha of land remained under the control of the Orthodox Church[71] of the 146,000 ha that has been in control of the Orthodox Church before the decree of 16th December 1918 has been applied[72]. Until the property issues has been resolved a number of afore mentioned legal acts has been in force, such as the Decree of the 16th of December 1918 (regarding the compulsory takeover of the land); the Statute of the 17th of December 1920 (about the takeover of property for The State in some of the powiats of the Rzeczpospolita – Dz. U. 1921 nr 4 poz. 17); a number of directives of the Council of Ministers expanding the legal force of the Decree of the 16th of December 1918 over new territories, such as the directive of 9 August 1921 (Nowogród, Polesie, Wolyn, Bialystok) – Dz. U. 1921 nr 71 poz 47489; and a statute of 19th of February 1925 expanding the legal force of the 17th December 1920 Statue over new powiats[73].

All the above-mentioned legal acts aimed at the change of the ownership status of the real estate, which until that point were in the hands of the Orthodox Church. This occurred as a result of a conflict of interests between three entities. The Orthodox Church stood by the position, that, being a legitimate possessor of the properties that it has found itself with within the reborn Rzeczpospolita it had every right to continue owning the properties in the future. The position of the Roman Catholic Church was connected with the attempts at the restitution of properties, that were forcibly took over by the partitioning powers (mostly by the Russian Empire) from either the Roman Catholic Church itself or its Uniate part, which were then transferred towards the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox Church's response was that it would return the properties nominally belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, but it strongly opposed the return of the post-Uniate lands. The third entity – the State – intended to take over the real estate property rights for the benefit of the State Treasury, in order to distribute the properties for the benefit of the clergy's salaries, the purposes of military settlements and the agricultural reforms.

The instruction issued by the Ministry of Agriculture on the 16th of April, 1921, for the Powiat Supervisory Committees regarding the lands to be left in possession of every parish or monastery led to a confusion, regarding the

[71] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 175-176.
[72] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 393.
[73] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 389.

application of the provisions of The Instruction. The initiated parcellation action, carried out without any consultation with the church authorities resulted in cases, where parishes were left with a land not larger than 36 ha, which was not enough to support the necessary life needs even of a single priest. The biggest conflict occurred during the attempt to take over, for the purposes of the land reform, the lands belonging to the Pochaiv Lavra. An attempt was made to take over 1,489 ha of land for the purposes of the agrarian reform (this included the forests belonging to the Lavra), leaving just over 36ha of the land for the use of the Lavra. The intervention of Archbishop Jerzy at the WRiOP Ministry led to the withdrawal of the decisions about the takeover. This and other misunderstandings and conflicts, which occurred during the reform, led to the adoption of a resolution by Sejm on 24th of March 1923, calling for the consultations about the statutes of 17th December 1920 and 15th of July 1920 – about the implementation of the agrarian reform.[74]

On the 25th of April 1923, the Interministrial Commission for Military Settlements has issued a circularly, which suspended the takeover of the church lands, in connection with the 17th of December 1920 Act.[75] The 28th December 1925 Statue on the implementation of the land reform maintained the provision of the paragraph 1 of the 17th December 1920 act. This meant that a formal and legal grounds for the State to takeover of the land, formerly belonging to the Orthodox Church – but, despite the formal grounds, The state refrained from all activities regarding this matter, as the talks with The Orthodox Church authorities regarding the normalization of the legal status of the Church were already ongoing[76]. However, some spontaneous activities of the secular population, for example in the area of the Siedlce District still took place and led to situations hazardous for the public order. The government, concerned about the wave of speeches on the parliament forum and by the ongoing protests, has decided to suspend the division operations – by placing an appropriate reference in the GUZ Circular on the 25th of June 1922. The reference read as follows "[…] where the surveying works have begun – they should be completed, but the land should not be given away; where the work has not been commenced – they should be delayed further; where the parcellation has been completed and the land has been given away – no changes should be made[77]". The issue of the property ownership of the post-Uniate properties has been concluded with the conclusion of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland, on the 10th of February 1925. Most of the statements of the Roman Catholic Church, regarding the issue of the lands, were made during the judicial process regarding the legal claims brought before the court by the Orthodox Church in 1929. The talks conducted by the Orthodox Church with the Pontifical Commis-

[74] Dz. U. 1920 nr 70 poz. 462; K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 143-145.
[75] Dz. U. 1926 nr 1 poz. 1.
[76] M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją…*, p. 392.
[77] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 148-149.

sion led to a signing of The Agreement between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland on the 20th of June 1938 regarding the post-Uniate lands and churches, took over by the Russian Empire from the Roman Catholic Church[78]. The Holy See has waived its claims to the Polish State regarding the property rights to all of the post-Uniate lands, even if the land was a subject of a legal dispute, or the land was in a possession of The State or other persons. The State on the other hand, has allocated 12.000 ha of land for the episcopal grounds, chapters, diocesan seminaries, etc. (art. III of The Agreement). This included approximately 9,120 ha of land that at the time was in a possession of the Catholic Church in the dioceses of Lublin, Łomża, Łuck, Pinsk, and Podlasie (Article III point 1 of The Agreement) For the missing part of land (approx. 2,880 ha) the State was to pay a sum of 2,500,000 zlotys in bonds, within 2 months. (Article III point 3 of The Agreement). The Polish State recognized the ownership of the Churches and post-Uniate chapels and their elements, if they were in the possession of the Roman Catholic Church in the moment The Agreement was signed. For the most part, The Agreement meant a closure for one of the last issues regarding the legal status of the Orthodox Church in the Second Rzeczpospolita.

The juridical steps, which The Polish State took in connection with the Orthodox Church during the Second Polish Republic, were complex. A problematic road to a solution was a result of an equally complex political situation the newly reborn Rzeczpospolita found itself in. In the case of the Orthodox Church in Poland, always lost between the east and the west, the Polish legislative bodies required long 18 years (since the adoption of the 1921 March Constitution) to regulate its legal status. In the meantime, even The Constitution itself has been derogated and replaced. Not until the legal status of the post-Uniate lands was regulated, by the treaty between the Holy See and the Rzeczpospolita; and The Decree of 18th November 1938 on The State relations with the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as well as the 23rd June 1939 Act regulating the legal status of the lands belonging to the Orthodox Church came into force, a stable legal framework has been created. However, the practical application of these acts has been drastically limited. The outbreak of the World War II on the 1st of September 1939 and the post-war political reality, marked by the Soviet red flags, brought even further transformations of the legal status of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

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[78] Dz. U. 1939 nr 35 poz. 222; S. Kiryłowicz, *Z dziejów…*, p. 81-82; K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe…*, p. 158.

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1. Ustawa z dnia 17 marca 1921 r. – Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – (Dz. U. 1921 nr 44 poz. 267).
2. Konkordat pomiędzy Stolicą Apostolską a Rzecząpospolitą Polską, podpisany w Rzymie dnia 10 lutego 1925 r. (ratyfikowany zgodnie z ustawą z dnia 23 kwietnia 1925 r.) – (Dz.U. 1925 nr 72 poz. 501).
3. Układ między Stolicą Apostolską i Rzecząpospolitą Polską w sprawie ziem, kościołów i kaplic pounickich, których Kościół Katolicki pozbawiony został przez Rosję, podpisany w Warszawie dnia 20 czerwca 1938 r. – (Dz. U. 1939 nr 35 poz. 222).
4. Ustawa z dnia 31 lipca 1919 r. w sprawie wydawania Dziennika Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – (Dz. U. 1919 nr 66 poz. 400).

5. Ustawa z dnia 15 lipca 1920 r. o wykonaniu reformy rolnej – (Dz. U. 1926 nr 1 poz. 1).
6. Ustawa z dnia 17 grudnia 1920 r. o przejęciu na własność Państwa ziemi w niektórych powiatach Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – (Dz. U. 1921 nr 4 poz. 17).
7. Ustawa z dnia 28 kwietnia 1938 r. o ujawnianiu w księgach hipotecznych własności gruntów pounickich – (Dz. U. 1938 nr 36 poz. 303).
8. Ustawa z dnia 23 czerwca 1939 r. o uregulowaniu stanu prawnego majątków Kościoła Prawosławnego – (Dz. U. 1939 nr 57 poz. 370).
9. Dekret Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 18 listopada 1938 r. o stosunku Państwa do Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego – (Dz. U. 1938 nr 88 poz. 597).
10. Dekret w przedmiocie przymusowego zarządu państwowego z dnia 16 grudnia 1918 r. – (Dz. Praw P. Pol. 1918 nr 21 poz. 67).
11. Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów z dnia 9 sierpnia 1921 r. o rozciągnięciu na obszar województw: nowogródzkiego, poleskiego i wołyńskiego oraz powiatów: białowieskiego, grodzieńskiego i wołkowyskiego województwa białostockiego mocy dekretu z dnia 16 grudnia 1918 r. w przedmiocie przymusowego zarządu państwowego – (Dz. U. 1921 nr 71 poz. 47).
12. Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów z dnia 10 grudnia 1938 r. o uznaniu Statutu Wewnętrznego Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego – (Dz. U. 1938 nr 103 poz. 679).
13. Zarządzenie Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego z dnia 6 maja 1939 r. w sprawie zatwierdzenia Statutu Konsystorzy Św. Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego – (M.P. 1939 nr 136 poz. 319).
14. Tymczasowe przepisy o stosunku rządu do Kościoła prawosławnego w Polsce z dnia 30 stycznia 1922 r. – (M.P. 1922, Nr 38, poz. 20).

ЕВГЕНИЙ ЖУК

Жизненный путь священника Плацидуса Янковского и его творческое наследие

Słowa kluczowe: duchowny Placidus Jankowski, Kościół prawosławny
Keywords: priest Placidus of Yankovsky, Orthodox Church

Streszczenie

Droga życiowa duchownego Placidusa Jankowskiego i jego literacka spuścizna

Wśród wielu wybitnych twórców na ziemiach białoruskich w XIX wieku wyróżnia się postać Placidusa Jankowskiego. Placidus Janowski łączył działalność duszpasterską z pracą literacką i dziennikarską.

Abstract

Life way of the clergyman Placidus of Yankovsky and his literary heritage

Placidus of Yankovsky stands out among many prominent artists in the Belarusian lands in the 19th century. Placidus of Yankovsky combined pastoral activity with literary and journalistic work.

[1] Eugene Zhuk, student of Minsk Theological Seminary. Евгений Жук, студент Минской Духовной Семинарии.

XIX век имеет огромное значение для истории Беларуси, как и для общеевропейской истории, как время возникновения и становления национальных идентичностей в европейских странах. Именно в XIX веке был заложен фундамент современной белорусской нации, чему способствовал ряд событий в конфессиональной и политической жизни белорусских земель. Среди них стоит выделить упразднение Брестской Унии, подавление восстаний 1831 и 1863 годов, ставивших своей целью восстановление Речи Посполитой. В XIX веке на ниве общественной мысли и литературы трудилась целая плеяда деятелей Церкви. Среди них особым образом выделяется личность протоиерея Плакида Янковского, сочетавшего служение Богу и Церкви в священном сане с продуктивной литературной, переводческой и публицистической деятельностью.

Плакид Янковский родился 20 сентября 1810 года в деревне Войской Гродненской губернии (ныне Каменецкий район Брестской области), в церковном имении, находящемся в пожизненном пользовании отца будущего протоиерея и писателя – униатскому священнику Гавриилу Янковскому. Шляхетский род Янковских герба Ястрембелец происходил из Мазовии и в XVI веке переселился на Подлясье. Гавриил Янковский в молодости служил под знаменами Костюшки. После последнего раздела Речи Посполитой он принял духовный сан, став одним из самых активных членов Брестского епархиального капитула и настоятелем соборной Никольской церкви города Бреста. Его четвертый сын Плакид, впоследствии пошедший по стопам своего отца-священника, вырос в среде мелкопоместной шляхты с ее глубокими патриархальными родовыми традициями. Воспитание, впечатления ранних лет предопределили позицию Янковского как патриота, сохраняемую им всю жизнь.

После окончания в 1830-м году полного курса католической Главной духовной семинарии при Виленском университете, где обучались как римо-, так и греко-католики. По окончании семинарии Плакид женится и принимает сан, становится профессором находящейся в Жировичах Литовской Духовной Семинарии. В 1839 году подписал акт Полоцкого Собора, прекратившего действие Брестской церковной Унии 1596 года. Большинству современников протоиерей Плакид Янковский был известен, как польский писатель. Склонность к литературному творчеству отец Плакид вынес из стен Виленской семинарии, где в числе преподавателей трудились уже состоявшиеся литераторы, а среди друзей Янковского были подающие надежды писатели.



Плацид Янковский

Исполняя должность преподавателя в Литовской духовной семинарии, находившейся в то время в Жировичах, отец Плакид начинает активную литературную деятельность. Уже в 1835 году увидела свет его повесть «Хаос – щепотка ладана в тени четверостиший» под псевдонимом Виталиса Кому-Еде, принесшая молодому писателю в священном сане успех и известность в литературных кругах. Книга разошлась крайне быстро. Поэтому уже в 1842 году в дополненном варианте она была переиздана. В 1841 году выходит сборник рассказов «Предбрачные письма» в двух томах, где среди прочего под заглавием «Автопопобиография» автор разместил немало биографических сведений о самом себе. В этом же году была издана повесть «Застенок», которую читатели и критики восприняли с большим теплом.

В 1845 году консистория Литовской епархии и Литовская духовная семинария были переведены из Жирович в столицу Белорусско-Литовского края – Вильно. Здесь отец Плакид помимо исполнения обязанностей заседателя консистории и преподавателя семинарии занял должность настоятеля Виленской соборной церкви Святителя и Чудотворца Николая. В Вильно он отправлялся неохотно, жалея оставленные Жировичи, которые полюбил всем сердцем. На новом месте его ожидала знакомая и близкая творческая среда. В Вильно проживали близкие ему по духу Игнатий Шидловский, Леон Боровский, Игнатий Ходько, Евстафий Тышкевич, Теодор Нарбут и многие другие. Виленский период жизни был наполнен множеством забот семейного и служебного характера, что оставляло мало времени для занятия литературой. Несмотря на это в отец Плакид написал и издал в этот период несколько книг.

С 1848 года Янковский становится настоятелем церкви св. пророка Илии в местечке Белавичи Слонимского уезда, а также местным благочинным. Жизнь и служение сельского пастыря во многом способствовали литературному творчеству. На 1848–1856-е годы приходится расцвет творческой жизни отца Плакида. Именно в эти годы были написаны и изданы многие его произведения, среди которых: «Новые рассказы Джона оф Дикальпа», «Несколько университетских воспоминаний Джона оф Дикальпа», «Книга в 16 градусах без титула и фамилии автора» и многие другие.

Отдельно стоит сказать о Янковском, как историографе Виленского Университета. Размещенная в журнале «Колоса» статья под названием «Школьные и университетские воспоминания Джона оф Дикальпа» а также книга «Университетские воспоминания» наглядным образом показывают нам атмосферу академической жизни Виленского университета в последний период его существования. Наиболее глубокие и точные сведения он оставил о той части Университета, в которой он вместе с товарищами постоянно находился – т.е. о Главной Семинарии при Виленском университете. Он вспоминает целую плеяду преподавателей и студентов-семинаристов, с которыми был в близких отношениях. Именно Янковский является одним из немногих выпускников Виленского университета, который смог деликатно и точно описать атмосферу этого учебного заведения, которое он считал лучшим в Европе.

Говоря о источниках творчества, стоит сказать, что о. Плакид писал много, большей частью о том, что хорошо знал. А хорошо он знал жизнь своих современников – представителей шляхты, священников, крестьян и мещан. Он умел тонко передать патриархальную поэтичность своей земли и ее народа. Согласно мнению Юзефа Крашевского, Плакид Янковский – большой литвофил. Именно любовью и привязанность к исторической территории Великого княжества Литовского и к населению этих земель, к их религиозности, культуре, языку и своеобразной жизненной философии

исполнены многие его произведения. Особенно это видно в сборниках рассказов под названием «Рассказы Джона оф Дикальпа» и «Новые рассказы Джона оф Дикальпа» а также повесть в стихах под названием «Сельские заседания».

Любовь к «матери Литве» соединяла его со множеством известных литераторов того периода. Особо теплые отношения связывали его с Юзефом Крашевским, в соавторстве с которым была написано «Сложная повесть». В жанровом отношении творчество Янковского довольно разнообразно – художественная проза, стихи, очерки. Вместе с тем он известен как плодотворный переводчик. Он переводил на польский с английского, итальянского, немецкого, в том числе Шекспира, Гете, Виланда и Пушкина. Издал на польском языке двадцать пять книг и еще примерно столько же различного рода публикаций на польском языке. На русском языке известны двадцать шесть его очерков и статей.

Еще во время пребывания в Вильно совместно с некоторыми литераторами отец Плакид предпринимает попытку издания нескольких журналов с литвофильским содержанием. Существовало два проекта, среди которых журналы «Литвины» и «Литовские типы». Второй проект удалось воплотить в жизнь, но лишь в форме не журнала, а одной небольшой книжицы с иллюстрациями народных костюмов, распостроненных на территории бывшего Великого Княжества Литовского. Пояснения к изображениям были написаны отцом Плакидом. По мнению большинства исследователей, среди которым наиболее выделяется Валериан Харкевич, веселый, свободный Джон оф Дикалп имеет мало чего общего с протоиереем Плакидом Янковским. Однако же Джон оф Дикальп в своих произведениях не скрывает того, что является священником, хотя писательство не всегда сочеталось с саном и важным положением Плакида Янковского.

С 1856 года о. Плакид приостановил публикации. Это можно связать в первую очередь с ухудшением состояния здоровья, а также потерей контактов в литературных кругах. Второй причиной можно назвать фактический упадок польского романтизма. Случилось так, что он намного пережил свою литературную популярность. Окончательно расстроенное здоровье вынудило его проситься на покой. Ему было 48 лет. Янковский приобрел в желанных ему Жировичах дом возле самого монастыря и там провел оставшиеся четырнадцать лет жизни.

В последние годы жизни языком творчества Плакида Янковского стал по большей части русский. Отец Плакид сотрудничал с «Литовскими Епархиальными Ведомостями», в которых опубликовал, начиная с 1863 года, более двадцати статей, посвященных разным церковным темам. Три произведения – «Пасхальные куличи», «Крестьянская правда» и «Никто как Бог – объединены автором одной рубрикой: «Из записок сельского священника». Особенное значение обрели очерки недавнего и современного быта воссоединенного духовенства под общим названием «На

рубеже». Весьма важный раздел русскоязычных публикаций Плакида Янковского – некрологи. Им даны жизнеописания протоиереев: Михаила Кирилловича Бобровского (семинарского учителя будущего митрополита Иосифа), Петра Ситкевича, Антония Тупальского, Ипполита Гомолицкого и др. Это были попытки дать обобщенный портрет священника-подвижника униатского и послеуниатского времени.

Скончался Плакид Гаврилович Янковский 28 февраля (11 марта) 1872 года на руках двух сыновей и двух дочерей. Похоронен он в Жировичах, в кладбищенской церкви св. Георгия Победоносца, рядом с прахом жены Елены. На стене храма и ныне находится большая памятная доска с надписью «Родителям Плакиду Янковскому (1810-1872) – Елене Янковской (1817-1867) – Дети».

На примере личности протоиерея Плакида Янковского мы знакомимся с типом «воссоединенного священнка». Его биография наглядно отражает в себе те переломные события, происходившие в Церкви и обществе в первой половине XIX века, когда нелегкая доля управления церковной жизнью Греко-Униатской церкви в западных губерниях Российской империи пала на плечи особых, ярких, неординарных и всесторонне развитых личностей, логическим итогом деятельности которых и стало воссоединение униатов с Православной Церковью. Исследование историографии, а также жизненного пути Плакида Янковского дает нам возможность адекватного и взвешенного взгляда на процесс разрыва церковной унии на территории Беларуси и воссоединение бывших униатов с Православной Церковью. Вместе с тем богатейшее литературное наследие о. Плакида, как и еще неизвестные факты его биографии, а также личная позиция по отношению к происходившим событиям в истории Церкви и Отечества требуют продолжения детального исследования.

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HIEROMONK PANTELEJMON (KARCZEWSKI)

Influence of the veneration of relics in the cult of saints in the Orthodox Church

Słowa kluczowe: Święci, relikwie, cześć, penegrynacja, pielgrzymka
Keywords: Saints, relics, veneration, peregrination, pilgrimage

Streszczenie

Wpływ czci relikwiom w kulcie świętych w Kościele prawosławnym

Niniejsza praca omawia związek między kultem relikwii a kultem świętych w tradycji prawosławnej. Praca przedstawia różne formy oddawania czci i kontaktu fizycznego, a także praktykę pielgrzymek i wędrówek relikwii. Ukazane zostały różne przykłady relikwii świętych z Grecji, Rumunii, Serbii, Polski, Rosji.

Abstract

Influence of the veneration of relics in the cult of saints in the Orthodox Church

The present paper discusses the relationship between the veneration of relics and the cult of saints in the Orthodox tradition. Different forms of veneration and physical contact are described, as well as the practice of pilgrimages and peregrinations of relics. We discuss also a fact of lack of relics and its influences. Various examples are used – saints of Greece, Romania, Serbia, Poland, Russia.

[1] Pantelejmon Karczewski, monk of the monastery in Supraśl, PhD student at the Faculty of Theology of the Christian Academy of Theology in Warsaw.

Introduction

Prayer to saints does not replace prayer to God. The essence of Christian prayer to the saints is the faith in their intercession, so that the prayers of the faithful will be more effectively accepted by God. Tradition sees relics of saints as their „living remains"[2].

Veneration of relics is a characteristic feature of Christianity. If remains of several persons are in some ways venerated in different religions (e.g. Buddhism, Islam), inasmuch size, range and essence of this phenomenon is completely incomparable with the cult in Christian practice. Veneration of relics occupies a unique place, especially in the Orthodox Church. Russian theologian Bulgakov uses even boldly a term „the dogma of the veneration of holy relics"[3].

Saints continue their life in relics. The relationship between the body and the spirit does not break up. St. John Damascene in his remarkable work "An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" writes: "The Master Christ made the remains of the saints to be fountains of salvation to us, pouring forth manifold blessings and abounding in oil of sweet fragrance: and let no one disbelieve this"[4]. In the opinion of a contemporary Serbian theologian St. Justin Popović, the cult of relics is a natural consequence of the cult of saints. He notices – "Thus we, in piously venerating the Saints, also venerate the entire person, in this manner not separating the holy soul from the holy body. Our pious veneration of the Saints' relics is a natural part of our pious respect for and prayerful entreaty to the Saints"[5]. Both soul and body are "holy vessels of God's grace"[6]. Bulgakov writes: „The question of the veneration of holy relics is by no mean an external and peripherical question, by no means a question that concerns only liturgical and cultic formalities. No, like all cultic questions, it is indissolubly connected with the very essence of the Christian faith"[7].

Bulgarian scholar Elka Bakalova writes that relics are "the cornerstone, on which the cult of saints is based and which let it develop and spread"[8]. Polish theologian Jarosław Charkiewicz argues, by contrast, that the veneration of saints can also exist even in the total absence of relics[9]. The present paper will discuss the relationship between the presence or fact of absence of the relics of a

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[2] S. Bulgakov, *Relics and miracles. Two theological essays*, translated by Boris Jakim, Cambridge 2011, p. 30.
[3] Ibidem, p. 3.
[4] St. John Damascene, *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (4,15), http://www.orthodox.net/fathers/exactiv.html#BOOK_IV_CHAPTER_XV
[5] St. Justin Popovich, *The Place of Holy Relics in the Orthodox Church*, http://orthodoxinfo.com/general/relics_place.aspx
[6] Ibidem.
[7] S. Bulgakov, *Relics…*, p. 39.
[8] E. Bakalova, *Relikvii u istokov kul'ta svjatyh*, [in:] A. M. Lidov, *Vostochnokhristianskie relikvii*, Moscow 2003, p. 37.
[9] J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych w Kościele prawosławnym*, Warsaw 2015, p. 209

particular saint and his or her cult. It will also describe the forms of veneration of the relics by people as well as the forms of the physical contact or pilgrimages to relics.

Veneration of saints and presence of their relics

On the presence of the relics of a saint, a special cult is always built. Their presence always has a multidimensional significance both for the nation and for the local community. We are talking here about a religious dimension (primarily) and a social one (secondly).

Very often, the presence of the relics of the founder of a monastery forms a pillar of the prayer life in that monastery. We can think here as an example of the Visoki Dečani Monastery in Kosovo. It was founded by Stephan Urosh III (14th century)[10]. Till today, his relics are placed in front of the iconostas and attract many pilgrims, especially on the day of his feast – 11/24 November[11]. On that day, according to tradition, monastic tonsures of new brothers and priest ordinations take place[12]. Every day, all the monks read "the akathist[13] to the saint Stephan" as a part of their prayer rule. Once a week, a special prayer canon to the saint is sung. Many pilgrims come for that occasion from Serbia[14].

Another example we can think of is that of the Ukrainian saint from the Pochaev Monastery – saint Amphilochius of Pochaev. In the akathist we can read – "After your assumption, the grace, which is generously given for those, who come to your tomb with faith, did not impoverish"[15] and further – "After your assumption you came back to the Pochaev Monastery. By the will of God you revealed yourself to us in the last years in your incorruptible relics. You spiritually delight all of us and remind us to sing to God, Who is wonderful in His saints"[16]. In that hymn, the saint is defined as "a glorious praise of the Pochaev Monastery"[17] and "sanctification of the land Volhynia"[18].

Another example is that of the relics of Saint Parascheva. Their presence in many places through the centuries (Tarnovo, Belgrade, Iasi) led to the saint becoming a special saint for all Christians in the Balkans. Her cult, particularly strengthened and developed in Bulgaria, Serbia, and Romania[19]. Her relics were present inter alia in the Bulgarian city of Tarnovo in the 13th and14th centuries.

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[10] *Monastir' Visoki Dechani*, Dechani 2012, p. 10.
[11] Ibidem, p. 19.
[12] Ibidem, p. 100.
[13] Akathist – a form of a service
[14] *Monastir' Visoki…*, p. 100.
[15] *Akatyst ku czci świętego mnicha Amfilochiusza,* [in:] *Święty mnich Amfilochiusz z Poczajowa. Życie i cuda, kanon modlitewny, akatyst*, Białystok, 2004, p. 49.
[16] Ibidem, p. 51.
[17] Ibidem.
[18] Ibidem.
[19] E. Bakalova, *Relikvii …*, p. 36.

The saint was venerated as protectress and patroness of the city. She has also received new titles: "Parascheva of Tarnovo" and "Parascheva of Bulgaria"[20].

Often, in new places where relics are present, new forms of the cult of particular saints or new local traditions appear. For instance, when the relics of Saint Martyr Gabriel of Zabłudów came to the cathedral church of Białystok (north-eastern Poland), a new tradition was initiated of celebrating regular services in his honor[21]. Every Tuesday, the akathist to St. Gabriel is sung by all the believers present in the church.

The presence of the relics can sometimes influence how that place is then named. According to a Scottish legend, in the 8th century, the Irish monk Regulus moved the relics of St. Apostle Andrew to Scotland. They were placed in the St. Andrew's Cathedral Church, in the Eastern part of the country. That city was then named in honor of the Apostle (St Andrews) and became the spiritual capital of the Scottish Kingdom[22].

Lidov writes that "around the relics, state-political concepts have been formed"[23]. It is difficult to disagree with this observation. For example, in medieval Serbia, the collecting of the relics of the first Christian martyrs and ascetics was not popular. Serbians confined their interest purely to their own national saints. Danica Popović ascribes this process for political reasons[24]. She emphasizes that, in the case of the holy rulers, veneration of them and of their relics was "the key element of royal ideology and national integration"[25] in a number of states of western, northern and central Europe.

In the 17th century, Cossack troops arrived at Suceava. In response, the Metropolitan of Moldova Anastasios Crimca decided to hide the relics of St. John the New, which were housed in the cathedral, because of danger. However, he was unable to remove the relics from the church. At that moment, the Cossacks trying to enter the city were drowned whilst attempting to cross the rough waters of the River Suceava. To commemorate this event, the Metropolitan celebrated a solemn service which involved a procession with the relics of St. John around the cathedral. Thenceforth, the 2nd of June (the day when the event took place) became a day when locals commemorated the memory of St. John[26].

A very important point connected to the analysis of the "presence" of a saint is the question of the authenticity of the relics. However, while from

[20] J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy święci*, Hajnówka 2012, p. 46.
[21] *Akatyst. Życie i męczeństwo św. Gabriela Zabłudowskiego*, Białystok 2012, p. 73.
[22] J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy...*, op. cit., p. 29.
[23] A. M. Lidov, *Relikvii Konstantinopolja*, p. 173, in: *Relikvii v Vizantii i drevnej Rusi*, Moscow 2006.
[24] D. Popović, *Relics and politics in the Middle Ages: the Serbian approach*, [in:] *Relikvii v Vizantii*, Moscow 2003, p. 168.
[25] Ibidem, p. 169.
[26] V. M. Demciuc, *Sf. Ioan cel Nou de la Suceava cu un scurt istoric privind Mânăstirea Sf. Ioan cel Nou*, Suceava 1990, p. 30.

a historical point of view the significance of relics is included in their authenticity, for theology it is paradoxically less important. The Church, remembering the words of Christ "According to your faith let it be done to you" (Mathew 9,29), is respectful even of those relics, whose authenticity is difficult to evaluate. The key point in the veneration of relics is faith, hence prayer to the saint, even at spurious relics, can have wonderful power. Nevertheless, this topic is also interesting from the historical point of view. For instance, Runcimann noted that "Christian relics have received their due attention in history. Historians, justly suspecting the authenticity of the more eminent of them, have tended therefore to put them all to one side, forgetting that even a forgery can have its historical value"[27].

The natural success of any form of the cult of relics in relation to the local community is a reference to the presence of the relics in liturgical hymnography. In the canon of matins on the day of St. Martyr Gabriel, we can find a reference to the presence of the relics in the Belarusian city Sluck: "Sluck is indeed the blessed city, because the incorruptible relics of Gabriel (…) have been placed there. Today, tears, prayers and thanksgiving at his tomb are lifted up by mothers with the intention about their children, and the requests of everybody are accepted there"[28]. In the 'doxastikon' on the praising psalms of matins, we see another reference to the relics – "[The body of Gabriel] has survived intact and till today it preaches the universal resurrection and teaches us how to ask the chosen one, to pray incessantly for our souls"[29].

Another worth quoting text is that from Vespers of the feast of the founding of the relics of St. Gurias and Varsonofius of Kazan. Two sticherion present the thought that the relics became the glory of the city and changed its face. We read: "The city Kazan, once dark, now shining, beautifies and cheers, having in itself your incorruptible relics, o holy wondermaker"[30]. Another text is an apostrophe addressed to the city Kazan[31] – "Beautify yourself, o city Kazan, having in yourself the relics of the saints blessed hierarchs Gurias and Varsonofius, who have dispelled the fog of disbelief from you and have enlightened you with the light of knowing of God, and who pray to the Christ God for all the people, who live in you"[32].

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[27] S. Runcimann, *Some remarks on the Image of Edessa*, „Cambridge Historical Journal", vol. 3, Cambridge 1931, p. 238-204.
[28] *Svjatoj muchenik mladenec Gavriil Belostokskij (Zabludovskij)*, Kharkov 2003, p. 56.
[29] Ibidem, p. 59.
[30] *Mesjaca togozhe v 7-j den'. Svjatago svjashchennomuchenika Ierofeja, episkopa afinskago,* [in:] *Biblioteka svjatootecheskoj literatury*, http://www.pravoslavie.ru/docs/oct04-70a 5dd.pdf
[31] Popular in hymnography, the addressing of a text to a city can be treated as imitation of the texts addressed to Bethlehem in the time of the forefeast of the Nativity of Christ.
[32] *Mesjaca togozhe v 7-j den'….*

Deposition ad sanctos

The next issue connected with our topic is a phenomenon of "deposition ad sanctos". In the beginning of the 5th century, the Christian aristocrat Cynegius was burned, at the request of his mother Flora, in close proximity to the grave of St. Felix in Nola. Brown explains that this case was not unprecedented and that the phenomenon "deposition ad sanctos" was already common[33]. Indeed, we can see an example of this from St. Gregory of Nyssa, who admitted that he had buried his parents 'ad sanctos' – "I buried my parents' bodies at the relics of these soldiers of Christ, so that they may be awake during the resurrection along with these particular neighbors"[34].

Many people have tended to bury their dead relatives close to the tombs of widely respected Christians, especially the martyrs. Such a placement has been considered a special blessing[35]. We can take as an example the case of St. Martyr Gabriel of Zabłudów. In 1720 many victims of a local epidemic were burnt in close proximity to his resting place. In doing so, this phenomenon had positive consequences, since the grave of the saint was accidentally opened. It revealed that the body of the young martyr was uncorrupted[36]. That event was the reason for the increase of already present cult.

St. Ambrose of Milano writes, in his letter to his sister, about placing the relics of the St. Martyrs Gervase and Protase in the cathedral – "I had destined this place for myself, for it is fitting that the priest should rest there where he has been wont to offer, but I yield the right hand portion to the sacred victims; that place was due to the martyrs. Let us, then, deposit the sacred relics, and lay them up in a worthy resting-place, and let us celebrate the whole day with faithful devotion"[37].

Forms of physical contact between people and relics

Hippolyte Delahaye emphasizes how, in the early Church, special power was not attributed to the relics of saints. Therefore, nobody awaited any supernatural effect after touching them[38]. However, it should be remembered that physical contact with the sanctity had almost always been present in Christianity – at least in a quite intuitive way. For example, one can think here of the woman suffering from hemorrhage, who was healed after touching the robe of

[33] P. Brown, *The cult of the saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity,* Chicago 1981, p. 27.
[34] J. Bently, *Restless bones: the story of relics*, London 1985, p. 27.
[35] Augustin of Hippo had a negative attitude to such phenomenon, see: Augustyn z Hippony, *De cura pro mortus gerenda 22,* quoted by: J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych…*, p. 149
[36] *Akatyst. Życie i męczeństwo…*, p. 55.
[37] St. Ambrose, *Letter 22,* http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/340922.htm
[38] H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs,* Bruxelles 1912, p. 139.

the Saviour[39]. Mikhail Zheltov highlights how the intuition of touch is quite typical, especially in the Eastern tradition[40].

Physical forms of contact are the highest form of prayer in the presence of the relics. The faithful contemplate relics visually, they kneel before them, and light candles and oil lamps in their presence. During services, a priest incenses relics. However, the most important form of contact with relics is through touch – kissing of them, dabbing heads, etc. The epilog of the apocrypha "Acts of Thomas", dating from the middle of the 3rd century, refers to the bones and ashes of the Apostle. Simply touching them was reputed to bring healing[41].

There is a known story about a young dumb girl, who, in 1658, spent the night praying beside the relics of St. Joseph of Partos, in the metropolitan cathedral in Timisorara (Romania). In the morning, she had regained her voice[42]. When elder Zosimus of Palestine, fount the dead body of the respected ascetic, St. Mary of Egypt in the desert, "he sprinkled her legs with tears, because he did not dare to touch any part of her body"[43]. Saint Ambrose of Milano writes about scarves and other robes, which had been touched to the relics of Martyrs Gervase and Protase. People expected to be healed via the textiles touched to the relics[44].

Nikolaj Lisovoj, when analyzing the topic of the veneration of relics, pays attention to the serious problem of distinguishing true worship from fetishization. He particularly raises the problem of relics towards the end of the 19th century in Russia: "It was an age of decadence, the fall of the authentic church consciousness. It was a time when grace was being mixed with magic"[45]. Relics were thus treated as magical amulets – "Does a knee hurt – touch relics, it will recover faster"[46].

It should be remembered, that these words need to be understood in the context of faith and prayer. Without them, the relics by themselves really do not represent Christian values, but are seen only as magical items. However, if a person uses them with prayer and faith, they will then have the power of healing.

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[39] See: Mark 5, 21-43.

[40] M. Zheltov, *Relikvii v vizantijskih chinoposledovanijah*, [in:] *Relikvii v Vizantii*, Moscow 2003, p. 70.

[41] J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych…*, p. 130.

[42] M. Pacurariu, *Sfinti daco-romani si romani*, Editura Mitropoliei Moldovei si Bucovinei, Iasi 2000, p. 102.

[43] *Żywot świętej matki naszej Marii Egipcjanki. Zapisany przez świętego Sofroniusza patriarchę jerozolimskiego*, transl. nun Nikołaja, Hajnówka 2015, s. 24.

[44] St. Ambrose, op. cit.

[45] N. N. Lisovoj, *O pochitanii moshchej svjatyh ugodnikov Bozhiih*, http://azbyka.ru/dictionary/12/moschi _ot_slova_mosch.shtml

[46] Ibidem.

Peregrinations

In the Orthodox Church, there is a widespread practice of peregrination and processions with relics. In the opinion of Brown, the peregrinations of relics were the central point of the late-antic and early-Christian piety[47]. We can use as an example, the case of Saint Philotea from Romania. Her relics are placed in the Romanian monastery Curta de Arges. They reveal unusual power especially during drought – many people ask St. Philothea for rain. Representatives of a village go to the monastery and, after obtaining the consent of the local bishop, the day of the procession with relics and route is fixed. The faithful rent a special car usually harnessed in white horses. "Villagers in folk costumes, priests with the Gospel and crosses in hands, are waiting the relics on the border of a village – with flowers, lighted candles and basil. At the front, the old men go, keeping in hands crosses and banners"[48]. In a local church a special service devoted to the saint is celebrated, the faithful kiss the relics, and then they go with the relics on the field, where they pray kneeling[49]. The relics of St. Philothea are not the only example of asking the saint in his relics for help in the case of drought. During the drought there are also processions with relics of St. Dmitri of Besarabia (the patron Saint of Bucharest) in the surrounding villages and fields[50].

In Rome, for the first time relics were opened and a procession was brought to the city walls in 537, during the siege of the city by the King of Ostrogots Witiges[51]. Processions with relics had also influence to the topography of medieval cities. As Lidov writes, cities found in these events "their highest iconographic-liturgical meaning"[52]. The relics of St. Spyridon were placed on the Corfu (Kerkira) Island in 1489. The tradition of the procession with the relics of the city on selected days quickly appeared. Those days are: Palm Sunday, Great Saturday, 11th August and the first Sunday of November[53]. In 1945, the relics of St. Parascheva were moved from Bucharest to Iași. The convoy escorted by Romanian and Russian officers stopped at numerous places and monasteries, e.g. Focsani, Bacau, Neamt[54], everywhere gathering crowds of believers. Also worth mentioning is an example of the relics of St. Gabriel. Since 2013, they have been placed rotationally – in the cathedral church of Białystok (from September to May) and in the Zwierki Monastery, in the church of his honor (from May to September).

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[47] P. Brown, *The cult…*, p. 89.
[48] J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy...*, p. 54.
[49] Ibidem.
[50] Ibidem, p. 58.
[51] J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych…*, p. 158.
[52] A. M. Lidov, *Relikvii …*, p. 174,
[53] E. Bakalova, *Relikvii…*, p. 37.
[54] J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy...*, op. cit., p. 48.

In 2014, there was a pilgrimage of the relics of St. Mary Magdalene in several localities and Orthodox monasteries in Poland. According to the organizers, during seven days, the relics were kissed by about a hundred thousand of people[55]. In 2015, there was a similar peregrination with the relics of St. Spyridon. Solemn services and processions took place. They were taking part by thousands of the faithful. The relics were venerated also by the acting Polish president[56].

Tradition of pilgrimages to relics

The act of pilgrimage is an inherent part of the cult of relics. The faithful often go long distances, in order to pray at the relics of a saint. Physical distance between relics and thousands of believers is helpful itself. People for centuries wanted to make the effort, to come to the relics, and to be able to get close to them with faith. Brown uses the term “distance therapy”[57], in the context of pilgrimages to relics. „For the pilgrims who arrived after the obvious ‘therapy of distance’ involved in long travel found themselves subjected to the same therapy by the nature of the shrine itself”[58]. Very often the architecture of sanctuaries needed special additional rites or activities which were required when approaching the body of a saint[59]. A pilgrimage to relics can thus be treated as an effort itself[60].

The relics of St. Parascheva of Ioasi were placed in the church of St. Apostles in Kalikratia for 200 years. They have subsequently become a source of numerous miraculous healings of believers. The figure of Parascheva quickly became famous across the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. Many believers would come to the relics in order to venerate them and to ask God, through their intercession, for the grace, which they needed[61]. Today, the relics are once again in the Romanian city Iasi. Thousands of believers come annually to participate in the celebrations in honor of St. Parascheva on 13th-14th October. The cathedral church and area around it is crowded with people, wanting to kiss the relics – “After the liturgy, the relics are taken out of the cathedral and are placed under a special canopy. At that point, a large queue of believers forms before

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[55] A. Kazimiruk, *Uroczyste pożegnanie relikwii św. Marii Magdaleny*, http://www.typo3.cerkiew.pl/ index.php?id=33&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=21196&cHash=d24f739cde8612fc6efab643033fec31

[56] P. Karczewski, *Uroczystości na Świętej Górze Grabarce*, http://www.typo3.cerkiew.pl/index.php?id=234&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=22491&cHash=f6973907523dd5e566b80e4affbbb975

[57] P. Brown, *The cult…*, op. cit., p. 87.

[58] Ibidem.

[59] Ibidem.

[60] N. N. Lisovoj, *O pochitanii…*, op. cit.

[61] *Sfinta cuvioasă Parascheva ocrotitoarea Moldovei*, ed. Trinitas, Iași, p. 9.

them. The believers kiss the relics and the icon of the Saint, whilst offering many gifts"[62].

We can see another example in Romania. Every year, thousands of Orthodox believers come to Bucharest on 27th October – on the day of the memory of St. Dimitri of Bessarabia [63]. In the Romanian city of Suceava, they offer gifts to the relics of St. John the New. In particular, on 24th June, when a procession with the relics of the saints winds through the streets of the city, believers offer herbs, candles, incense, money, or food[64]. In the past, special celebrations used to occur every year in Sluck, in Belarusia. These celebrations were held in memory of St. Martyr Gabriel and occurred at Pentecost, when thirty-five thousand pilgrims were known to participate in a procession. The saint was considered a special patron of children[65].

The Georgian saint Gabriel Urgebadze died in 1995. From the beginning, his tomb became the destination of numerous pilgrimages – "People kneeled at his tomb, they held out their crosses and rings. They put their palms on the ground of graves, asking the saint for his blessing. They felt unusual joy and calmness. Many cases of miracles through the intercession of the saint were noted – also because of the oil from the lamp burning on his grave"[66]. The saint was officially canonized in 2012. Two years afterwards, his tomb was opened, with 700,000 people attending the ceremony[67].

Veneration of saints despite lack of their relics

As it was mentioned, Bakalova writes that relics are "the cornerstone, on which the cult of saints is based and which let it develop and spread"[68]. This statement is largely true. However, it is impossible not to refer to it more critically – after all, there are many examples of saints whose relics, for various reasons, do not exist. However, that fact does not prevent these saints from still being venerated. The relics of many saints have been purposely destroyed by persecutors. Their intention was to deprive Christians the possibility to venerate the relics of martyrs, after the murder. Hence, the remains of saints were often burned, thrown into the sea, or given to wild animals for them to devour[69].

For instance, Saint Anthony of Supraśl (16th-17th century) was burned after his death and ashes of his body were then scattered in the air. The Turks wanted to avoid a situation, in which the body of the martyr becomes an object of ven-

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62 J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy...*, op. cit., p. 50.
63 Ibidem, p. 58.
64 Ibidem, p. 66.
65 *Akatyst. Życie i męczeństwo…* op. cit., p. 58.
66 J. Charkiewicz, *Gruzińscy święci*, Warsaw 2015, p. 200.
67 Ibidem.
68 E. Bakalova, *Relikvii…* op. cit., p. 37.
69 J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych…*, op. cit., p. 130.

eration[70]. Similarly, the Georgian-Polish saint – priest-martyr Gregory Peradze was killed in the Nazi Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp in 1942. His body was then burnt in the camp crematorium[71]. Despite the absence of his relics, his cult remained large and the Council of the bishops of the Georgian Orthodox Church canonized him in 1995.

The absence of the physical presence of relics can have an influence on diminishing the cult. For instance, that was the situation in Podlasie (Poland) in the case of St. Martyr Gabriel. His relics were moved to Belarus in the middle of the 18th century, whereafter the memory of him in Poland started to wane. By the end of the 19th century, the memory of him began to recover in Poland. In his hometown, Zwierki, a church was built in his honor. In 1908, a part of his relics was placed in Białystok (the main city of the Podlasie). In the 1980s, the Bishop of Białystok, Sawa, was interested in moving all of the relics, which were at that time held in the Belarusian city Grodno. The cult of the martyr was then fully reborn, among other reasons due to: 1) the organizing of celebrations for the 300th anniversary of the birth of the saint in 1984; 2) the proclaiming of St. Gabriel as the patron of the Orthodox Youth Fellowship in Poland; 3) the frequent celebrating of services in honor of St. Gabriel. All these processes led to the final transfer of his relics to Białystok in 1992[72].

Another case is that of St. Leontius from Romania. In 1639, unknown perpetrators attacked the Romanian city Radovce. Amongst other things, they stole the relics of St. Leontius, which had been placed there. The relics were never recovered. As such, the tradition of venerating St. Leontius began to decline in Romania. However, the clergy in Northern Moldova decided to restore the cult of the saint, after the fall of communism and, in 1992, the Romanian Orthodox Church officially canonized St. Leontius. From that moment, every year, on the day of his memory (1st July), there is a large pilgrimage to the place, where his relics had once been kept[73].

The relics of St. Sava of Serbia were burned by the Turks, but doing so did not negatively influence the cult of the saint. To date, St. Sava is still revered as the patron of the Serbian nation. Moreover, it is not only the liturgical texts that mention the burning his relics in the context of the cult, but the popular Serbian national song does so as well – the hymn to St. Sava – "Sinan-Pasha fired fires/ and fired the body of St. Sava/ but he did not fire the feast/ nor the memory of St. Sava" ("Sinan-pasha vatru pali/ Telo Svetog Save spali,/Al' ne spali slave, Niti spomen Save")[74].

[70] A. Mironowicz, M. Mironowicz, *Św. Antoni Supraski*, Białystok, 2014 p. 39
[71] *Wiadomości Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego*, no. 4, (1995), Warsaw 1995, p. 24.
[72] *Akatyst. Życie i męczeństwo…* op. cit., p. 65.
[73] J. Charkiewicz, E. Kocój, *Rumuńscy...*, op. cit., p. 78.
[74] *Khimna Svetom Savi*, http://www.svetisava.be/himna-svetom-savi

Last but not least, we have the example of the saints canonized, in 2000, by the Russian Church as "New Martyrs and Confessors of the Russian Orthodox Church". In most cases, their relics simply do not exist. Metropolitan Juvenal (Poyarkov) writes in his report – "The relics of almost all victims of persecution are placed in unknown tombs, or in places where mass executions and funerals took place (…) The problem of the holy relics, in such cases, we leave to the will of God"[75].

Conclusion

The cult of saints is a very important part of the practice of the Orthodox tradition. A modern Russian theologian Bulgakov writes, that „to deny holy relics is to deny the power of Christ's Resurrection"[76]. In the same way, the cult of relics is a very important part of the cult of saints. A man – psychosomatic being, needs also physical contact for religious practice. Hence the presence of relics – physic remains of a saint – is very helpful in spiritual getting closer to a saint. A city, a church or a monastery, where relics are placed becomes often a centre of pilgrimages, which influences spiritually on people. There is also another phenomenon, which is an opposite of pilgrimages – peregrination. In that case there are not believers who visit relics, but relics visit believers in other cities or countries. Often thousands of people take part in such events. When speaking about the influence of relics in the cult of saints, one cannot forget about the situation when relics of a saint do not exist. Lack of relics of a particular saint (which have been destroyed, lost, etc.) can cause a diminution of his cult or of common knowledge about him. It is not the same case with very known and commonly venerated saints or saints especially important for local communities. Their cult develops and exists despite lack of relics.

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[75] *Doklad mitropolita Krutickogo i Kolomenskogo Juvenalija, predsedatelja Sinodal'noj komissii po kanonizacii svjatyh*, http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/422558.html

[76] S. Bulgakov, *Relics…* op. cit., p. 39.

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The dominant model of Church-state relations in the Catholic tradition

Słowa kluczowe: państwo, kościół, relacje państwo-kościół
Keywords: the state, the Church, Church-state relations

Streszczenie

Dominujący model stosunków państwo-Kościół w tradycji katolickiej

Artykuł poświęcony jest rozważaniom na temat istniejących modeli relacji między stanem a wyznaniem. Pojęcie instytucji społecznych „Kościół" i „państwo" jest zdefiniowane. Autor zwraca uwagę na analizę jednoczących kryteriów relacji państwo-Kościół. Autor proponuje koncepcję państwowo-wyznaniowego w tradycji katalitycznej zwanej dominującą, w której władza państwowa znajduje się w rękach hierarchii kościelnej i należy do Kościoła dominującego, głowa państwa jest także głową Kościoła. Stosunki państwo-Kościół opierają się na zasadzie konkordatu – specjalnego porozumienia, które określa status prawny Kościoła w państwie. System ten jest typowy dla państw Europy, w których stosunki między świecką a duchową mocą w Europie są ustanowione przez kanony Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego. W artykule zauważono, że w państwach europejskich, gdzie katolicyzm jest zapisany jako oficjalna religia, istnieje obowiązek zawarcia konkordatu.

Abstract

The dominant model of Church-state relations in the Catholic tradition

The article is devoted to the consideration of the existing state-confessional models of relations. The concept of social institutions „Church" and „state" is defined. The author draws attention to the analysis of the unifying criteria of Church-state relations. The author proposes the concept of state-confessional in the catalytic tradition called dominant, in which state power is in the hands of the Church hierarchy and belongs to the dominant Church, the head of state is also the head of the Church. State-Church relations are based on the principle of concordat – a special agreement that determines the legal status of the Church in the state. This system is typical for the

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States of Europe, in which relations between secular and spiritual power in Europe are established by the canons of the Roman Catholic Church. The article notes that in European States where Catholicism is enshrined as the official religion, there is an obligation to conclude a concordat.

The relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the state and the Church throughout the development of the state and statehood is one of the most urgent problems, since the status of the Church itself as a special social institution remains uncertain to the present time. Modern scientists say that „the Church as an organization should not participate in politics, but in a legal state should not be obstacles to citizens associations religious ideological principles”[2]. As the experience of history shows, already in the first States the management system was of a three – stage nature: the city community – the Palace-temple. To consider the existing models of Church-state relations, it is necessary to define the essence of the studied institutions in terms of terminology. The very concept of the Church has Greek roots, and means „house of God”. In the opinion of one of the modern scholars, „the Church is a More or less structured organization of the clergy of a certain religion, sending a cult, as a rule, professionally and satisfying the religious needs of believers”[3]. The main features of the Church as a social institution include: the system of religious values, the hierarchy of governance, the division of citizens belonging to the Church into clergy and laity (faithful parishioners). The state, unlike the Church, is characterized by three components-power, population, territory.

Both institutions differ not only in their organizational nature, but also in the goals and means of achieving those goals. The state has the apparatus of coercion, the Church-religious and moral means that affect the spiritual consciousness of the population. The main purpose of these public institutions is to consolidate society and support its moral foundations on the basis of universal values.

The relationship between the Church and the state in the Catholic tradition is a relationship based on the predominance of the institution of the Church over the institution of the state. In our opinion, the model of state-confessional relations that has developed in the catalytic tradition can be reasonably called dominant (from the Latin term „dominari”– predominance). The question arises, what for modern society can be interesting this form of relationship? The interest is that the state power in such a system of relations is in the hands of the

[2] D. V. Alontseva, *The problem of the relationship between Church and state in the creative heritage of S. N. Bulgakova*, „Law and policy”, 2011, No. 3, p. 463-472.
[3] *The Constitutional (state) law of foreign countries,* General part: Textbook for universities / hands. ed. call. and OTV. ed. by B. A. Strashun, Moscow 2005, p. 350.

Church hierarchy and belongs to the ruling Church, the head of state is also the head of the Church, „the representative of God on earth". The basic law of such a state is not the law of law, but the law of religion, the basic dogmatic norms. An example of such a state in the modern world is the state-city-Church-Vatican.

The Vatican state is the smallest state in the world, with a population of 800 to 1,000 people and an area of 0.17 square miles, and although the sovereign entity is different from the Holy See, it is the actual base of the Holy See. The sovereignty of the Holy See extends throughout the world to the entire Catholic Church. The Holy See is recognized in international law as a non-territorial sovereign entity and may conclude treaties and other international agreements. The head of the Catholic Church is the Pope, who heads the Holy See and the city-state of the Vatican in Rome, since 2013.

The basic law of the state of the Vatican City, adopted on November 26, 2000, in paragraph 1 of article 1 stipulates „the Supreme Pontiff, the Sovereign of the state of the Vatican City, has the full legislative, Executive and judicial power". In the framework of this study we will consider the dominant model of the relationship „Church-state" in the Catholic tradition. Legal recognition of the Church by the state, as we have already noted above, is typical for the States of the Catholic religion. In today's world, such a religious denomination as Catholicism is the largest in number, numbering about 1 billion 250 million people. The main place of concentration of Catholics-Europe (Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, etc.) and Latin America.

Legal recognition of the Church by the state implies the independence of two public institutions: the state and the Church. State-Church relations are based on the principle of concordat – a special agreement that determines the legal status of the Church in the state. This system is typical for the States of Europe, in which relations between secular and spiritual power in Europe are established by the canons of the Roman Catholic Church. The concordat with the Vatican is a special Treaty that gives the Roman Catholic Church certain legal rights and privileges that other religious organizations do not enjoy. The concordat is involved in problems related to intermarriage, the practice of non-Catholic doctors in Catholic hospitals, adoptions, sectarian content in public school curricula, credits for religious courses and observance of religious holidays. In those European States where Catholicism is enshrined as an official religion, they are obliged to conclude a concordat. For example, on February 18, 1984 in the Roman Palace of Villa Madonna was signed an agreement regulating mutual relations between Italy and the Vatican. On the Italian side, the document was signed by Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and on the Vatican side by Secretary of state Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. The Lateran treaties, officially approved by Benito Mussolini on 11 February 1929, were repealed. According to the articles of these treaties, the Catholic Church has acquired a number of privileges. Rome was declared a „Holy city" and the Catholic faith was declared

the only „state religion". More than 50 years have passed since the signing of the Lateran treaties, during which there have been radical changes in the world, in Italy and in the Vatican itself. For all practical purposes, many of the positions of the 1929 concordat ceased to be binding. The Constitution of „Gaudiumet Spes", adopted by Vatican II, States that the Church does not pin its hopes on the privileges granted by state power; refuses to use certain legally acquired rights, since their use will call into question the sincerity of service to God and the new conditions of life require a different system of relations. The Constitution of the Council subsequently refers only to the right of the Church to freely declare faith, to teach, to prove the truth and to Express moral values. The day after the signing of the new document, John Paul II noted that the signing of the new version of the concordat served as an important legal basis for bilateral peaceful relations between the Vatican and the Italian Republic, for the Catholic Church created opportunities for creative contribution to the moral welfare and development of the state. The text of the new document is much smaller than the Lateran treaties, most of which were expressions of the privileged position of the Catholic Church and Catholicism as „the only religion of the state". The new agreement does not contain this provision. Catholicism has ceased to be the official religion of Italy. The new concordat confirms that Church marriages are legally valid, but Church divorces must be approved by the civil appeal Tribunal. The Church has the right to bless only those marriages that are legal in terms of Italian law (age, relationship, mental health, lack of marriage with another partner). Taking into account that article 36 of the Lateran Treaty regulates that Italy recognizes the teaching of Christian doctrine in the interpretation of Catholicism as the basis and basis of the system of public education, the teaching of religion will be conducted in schools as an optional subject chosen by the parents of the student. Universities, academies, seminars, colleges, and other institutions that train specialists in theology are subject only and exclusively to the Church. Academic designations and titles awarded to Catholic educational institutions are recognized by the state. Thus, the Church retains significant rights and influence in the field of education.

Another example is Poland, where the regulation of relations between the state and the Catholic Church is established by an international agreement between Poland and the Holy See of 1993, which is called the concordat (ratified in 1998). The modern Polish model of coexistence between the state and the Church can be described as the principle of friendly division and autonomy and mutual independence.

The principle of autonomy and mutual independence of the Church and the state is confirmed by both the Concordat and the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. The concordat affirms that the state and the Catholic Church, each in their own field, are independent and Autonomous and are committed to full respect for this principle in their relations and cooperation for human development and the common good. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland estab-

lishes that relations between the state and the Church and other religious organizations are formed on the basis of respect for their autonomy and mutual independence from each other, as well as cooperation for the benefit of the individual and the common good. At the same time, the Constitution guarantees the equal rights of all religions and the impartiality of the state in matters of religious affiliation. The principle of „autonomy and mutual independence" of the state and the Church means independence and mutual respect, gives the Church the opportunity to govern canonical law. Citizens, organizations, as well as the Church, in accordance with the right to freedom of religion, have an unlimited opportunity to Express their views, symbols, and carry out religious cults.

St. 53 the Constitution of the Republic of Poland guarantees freedom of conscience and religion and includes various forms of exercise of this right, including the right of parents to provide children with moral education and religious instruction in accordance with their convictions. The expression of respect for this principle is, for example, the presence of religious lessons in the school system. Of course, provided that they are voluntary, otherwise the freedom of expression of their atheistic beliefs may be jeopardized. Therefore, the presence of religion in school has nothing to do with the „appropriation of the state by the Church", but it is one of the basic elements of the democratic order, based, in particular, on the observance of freedom of religion. And since the lessons of religion are an integral part of the education system, their costs are naturally covered by the organizer of the system, that is, the state.

Of course, freedom of religion, like any other freedom in a democratic regime, has its limits. The restrictions on freedom of religion contained in article 53, paragraph 5, of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland are similar to the principles set forth in the European Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and are regulated as follows: freedom of religion may be restricted only by law and only when it is necessary to protect the security of the state, public order, security, rights and freedoms of citizens.

Is the dominant model of the Catholic Church applicable to the modern international community and to modern legal systems? We believe that it is applicable because the Catholic domination model is progressing, unlike the Orthodox one, and guarantees the independence of the Church as a public organizational and legal institution. As a justification for its position, we give examples of how the Catholic Church takes an active part in the international arena, participating in the formation of international bodies and organizations, the adoption of international legislation and the definition of international policy.

The Catholic Church had a great influence on the formation of international structural units of the United Nations (hereinafter referred to as the UN). Largely due to the position of representatives of the Vatican, the UN established the Commission on human rights. In 1948, Latin American countries comprised 21 of the 58 UN members, which affected the adoption of the universal Declaration of human rights.

Throughout the last century, the Catholic Church not only contributed to the formation of the modern doctrine of human rights protection, but also took an active part in the consolidation of the international Institute of human rights. In particular, an example of this position is the internationally known fact that the Holy See participated as a full member in the first and second UN Conference on trade and development (UNCTAD), held in Geneva in 1964 and in new Delhi in 1968, respectively.

In April 1968, a „Conference on world cooperation for development" was held in Beirut, Lebanon, on the initiative of the „Research Committee on society, development and peace", established in July 1967 by the Pontifical Commission „Justice and peace" and the world Council of churches. It was a historic meeting, because for the first time the entire Christian world, forgetting all the differences, United in the adoption of a resolution to implement constructive actions, marking the beginning of an extensive program of mobilizing public opinion in favor of concrete actions to implement the ideas of social equality in the world.

The Catholic Church takes an active position on the development of the international Institute of human rights. In particular, Delegations from the Holy See participated in international conferences on human rights for refugees and stateless persons, for legal action abroad for alimony, against drugs, treatment of prisoners, for tourism, trade and development, for copyright and so-called „related rights", for the import and distribution of special materials, protection of cultural values, illiteracy. In addition, the Holy See has also acceded to the international conventions on human rights (on the status of refugees, on legal proceedings abroad for alimony, on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, on copyright, for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict).

In his address to the UN General Assembly on October 4, 1965, Paul VI called the UN an organization working for the maintenance of civilized peace in the world and proposed to establish the post of „expert in humanity", giving it the following powers: of human enlightenment to the world; gradual creation of a world power capable of acting effectively on legal and political plans; promoting fraternal cooperation among peoples; proclaiming the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom and, above all, religious freedom; accelerating the economic and social progress of peoples; the fight against hunger, disease and illiteracy and to spread culture; application of science and technology in the organization of human service.

The Holy See has been a member state of the Organization for security and cooperation in Europe (hereinafter – OSCE) since 25 June 1973, with a mission in Vienna. At the United Nations, the Holy See voluntarily served as a permanent observer to the United Nations, not as a member state. The Holy See represents the Catholic Church worldwide, including bilaterally, with full diplomatic relations with 180 countries. In the OSCE, its priorities include peaceful conflict

resolution, freedom of religion, combating human trafficking, drug trafficking and organized crime, disarmament and non-proliferation, refugees and migrants, protection of national minorities, combating terrorism, and the economy and environment and their human consequences.

The Holy see also has diplomatic relations with the European Union and the Sovereign military order of Malta, as well as special relations with the Palestine liberation Organization.

The Holy see participates in the work of many intergovernmental organizations, including in the capacity of observer in the United Nations, the Office of the United Nations in Geneva, the office of the United Nations in Vienna; as a member of the organization in the Office of the high Commissioner United Nations for refugees, Geneva, member of the Executive Committee of the Conference United Nations on trade and development, the world intellectual property organization, the International atomic energy Agency, etc.

Thus, in the framework of the study the author proposes a dominant model of the relationship between the Church and the state in the Catholic tradition, based on the predominance of the institution of the Church over the institution of the state. The significance of this model of state-confessional relations for modern society lies in the fact that the Catholic domination model is progressing, unlike the Orthodox one, and guarantees the independence of the Church as a public organizational and legal institution. The Catholic Church takes an active part in the international arena, participating in the formation of international bodies and organizations, the adoption of international legislation and the definition of international policy.

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ПРОТОИЕРЕЙ ДМИТРИЙ САЗОНОВ

Феномен «обращенцев» и «возвращенцев» в жизни Русской Православной Церкви 1960-1970-х гг. на примере регионов Центральной России

Słowa kluczowe: Cerkiew prawosławna, dysydencja, neofici, wierzący, obrzędy kościelne, nawróceni

Keywords: Orthodox Church, dissidence, neophytes, believers, Church rites, converts

Streszczenie

Zjawisko „nawróconych" i „powracających" w życiu rosyjskiego Kościoła prawosławnego w latach 1960–1970. na przykładzie regionów centralnej Rosji

Artykuł ujawnia zjawisko religijności wiernych w Związku Radzieckim w latach 1960-1970. Na podstawie źródeł archiwalnych i statystycznych ukazano zjawisko „powracających" i „nawracających" do Cerkwi. Były to osoby, które nie otrzymały wychowania religijnego a stały się członkami wiernych Cerkwi prawosławnej. Na przełomie okresu stalinizmu i „komunizmu z ludzką twarzą", osoby te uczestniczyły w stopniowym procesie odrodzenia struktur cerkiewnych. Zjawisko to spotegowało się podczas obchodów 1000-lecia chrztu Rosji, upadku systemu socjalistycznego i doprowadziło do powstania społeczności okreslanej jako „naród cerkiewny" w końcu lat dziewięćdzisiątych XX i na poczatku XXI wieku.

Abstract

The phenomenon of „converts" and „returnees" in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church in the 1960-1970s. on the example of the regions of Central Russia

The article reveals the phenomenon of religious believers in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 1970s. Based on the evidence of archival and statistical sources, it is shown that the pheno-

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menon of „returnees" and „converts" refers to People who came to replace those who were brought up in traditional religiosity and did not receive the rudiments of religious education. At the break of historical epochs-Stalinism and „socialism with a human face", it is with these people that the beginning of the gradual revival of Church structures is associated, which then received its powerful impetus during the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Russia, the collapse of the socialist system, and formed the „Church people" of the and of XX and beginning XXI century.

Оценка религиозности населения СССР в 1960-1970-е годы характеризовалась терминами – «обращенцы» и «возвращенцы», которые получили свое распространение в историографии, и были применимы по отношению к пришедшим в церковную среду людям в «хрущевский и постхрущевский период истории страны. Под терминами подразумевался феномен поколений людей, которые пришли в Церковь на смену получивших образование с учетом знаний Закона Божьего.

По свидетельству большинства историков исследовавших религиозность советского общества в 1960-1970-е годы, в частности, Д. Поспеловского, хрущевские гонения на религиозность советского народа повлияли незначительно[2]. Более того, как раз в начале 1960-х годов, во время «хрущевских гонений на Церковь», в ряде регионов РСФСР, например, в Чувашии, Тамбовской, Рязанской, Кемеровской областях, наметился рост обращений верующих к священнослужителям для совершения церковных обрядов[3]. Действующие храмы были полны народа. Процент крещений был значителен. Например, в 1960 году, по данным облуполномоченного по делам РПЦ по Тульской области, в самый пик антирелигиозного наступления крестили 36,5% детей (цифры приводятся от общего количества родившихся – прим. Д. С.). В 1961 г. данные статистики указывают уже цифру в 40% крещенных детей в Тульской области. В Костромской области в1960 г. крестили 38,1% новорожденных детей, в 1961 г. уже 43,3%[4]. В 1978 г. в Рязанской области в Спасском районе были крещены 76,2% от числа родившихся детей, в Скопинском районе было крещено 68,1% от общего количества родившихся детей, в Рязанском районе – 49,6%[5].

[2] Д. Поспеловский, *Советские исследования Церкви и реакция верующих на атеизм*, Лондон 1988, с. 237.
[3] *История России XX век*, под ред. А. Б. Зубова, Москва 2010, с. 372.
[4] *Государственный архив Костромской области* (далее – ГАКО), ф. р-2102, оп. 5, д. 44, л. 24.
[5] *Государственный архив Рязанской области* (далее – ГАРО), ф. р-5629, оп. 1, д. 133, л. 49.

Несмотря на то, что подавляющее количество молящихся, например, в Костромской области, были старые женщины, женщин от 30 до 40 лет было не более 20%, а мужчин пожилого возраста – не более 20% от общего количества молящихся, молодежь в храме присутствовала, пусть в небольшом количестве – 3-4 человека в каждом храме, но своим присутствием она показывала невозможность тотального запрета на посещение молодежью храмов[6]. В церкви г. Нерехта в 1957-1958 гг. в большие религиозные праздники число молящихся составляло почти 1500 человек, что было 10.8% всего взрослого населения города в 1956 году и 10,3% в 1958 году. В церкви г. Шуя Ивановской области в большие религиозные праздники Рождество, Крещение, Пасху и Троицу в 1957 году посещаемость была на уровне того же 1956 года, т.е. примерно, около 1500 человек, что составляло около 8% взрослого населения города и на таком уровне было в 1958 году[7].

Оценка характерных признаков религиозности верующих показывает, что к 1970-м годам большинство из них были или обращенцами, или возвращенцами к вере отцов. Как подмечал историк Д. Поспеловский исследовавший это явление – вопрос о религиозности обращенцев 1970-х годов в Церкви стоял остро: «Какова эта вера? Во что веруют обращенцы, возвращенцы, да и традиционные верующие в условиях отсутствия регулярного религиозного воспитания, вероучительной и богословской литературы, нехватки Священного Писания, священников и храмов?»[8].

Ответом на этот вопрос будет анализ такого явления, как обращение к Богу интеллигенции и ее приход в Церковь. Необычное явление, воспроизводящее подобное возвращение интеллигенции в Церковь в начале XX века, возникло в середине 1960-х нач. 1970-х гг. в среде образованной молодежи, воспитанной в нерелигиозных, а подчас и атеистических семьях. Особенность этого возвращения находилось в области протеста. Движение новообращенцев-неофитов из интеллигенции пришедших в Церковь на протестной волне было немногочисленным, но активным. Оно проявилось в создании кружков и семинаров религиозно-философского, евангельского толка, например, христианские семинары А. Огородникова в Москве и В. Пореша в Ленинграде, в распространении самиздата, открытых писем, направленных как в государственные, так и в церковные инстанции. Отличительными чертами пришедшей в Церковь интеллигенции стало проявление религиозного протеста – диссидентства, где главным в религиозности таковых «обращенцев» к вере было протест против существующей системы. Диссидентство – протест сопровождалось

[6] ГАКО, ф. р-2102, оп. 5, д. 32, л. 13.
[7] ГАКО, ф. р-2102, оп. 5, д. 32, л. 13.
[8] Д. Поспеловский, *Советские исследования Церкви*, с. 43.

религиозной тематикой. Такое движение было новым явлением в истории нашей страны и было обозначено как «православное диссидентство»[9].

Движение было немногочисленным и представляло собой небольшие группы столичной интеллигенции. Большая часть советских интеллектуалов и интеллигентов была равнодушна к религии. Некоторые, как и подавляющее большинство граждан скрывали свои убеждения, и доверяли их при соответствующих обстоятельствах и обстановке.

Известный московский протоиерей Всеволод Шпиллер наблюдая за людьми приходящими в храм и «нашедшими веру в Бога» резюмировал, что в СССР верующих людей «нашли веру» путем личного опыта или иной формы (книги, встречи с религиозными людьми) благодаря которой они, будучи воспитаны в нерелигиозной среде, пришли в Церковь увидев в ней истину и красоту[10]. Далее он указывал, что большинство из пришедших в Церковь интеллигентов не становились традиционными верующими. По его мнению, они нуждались в пастырском руководстве и церковном воспитании. Они «горели» обретенной верой, готовы были пострадать за Церковь и защитить ее, готовы были найти духовного руководителя и стать его духовными чадами, войти в церковную общину. «Однако, как писал священник, – при тогдашнем положении Церкви духовное руководство неофитов было крайне затруднительным ввиду недостатка пастырей и храмов»[11].

Известная правозащитница Людмила Алексеева на основании исследования истории протестного движения в СССР сделала вывод, что процесс обращения интеллигенции к своим духовным корням был не столько обретением и возрождением церковности и духовности, сколько следствием внутреннего несогласия с официальной идеологией «госатеизма». Она отмечала, что обращение ищущей интеллигенции к национальному и религиозному аспектам стал актуальным в вследствие деградации официальной государственной партийной идеологии.

Одним из явлений 1960-х годов способствовавших возвращению части интеллигенции к осмыслению национальной истории и тесно связанной с ней национальной культуры стала появившаяся тоска людей вырванных из традиционной деревенской среды. В 1960-1970- гг. появилось целое направление в литературе, в основе своей выражавшей тоску по родному краю, звавшей о возвращении к своим родным корням, к деревенскому быту, возвращение на малую Родину. Выражая тоску горожан, сорванных с родных мест появились т.н. писатели «деревенщики»

[9] Л. Алексеева, *История инакомыслия в СССР*, Вильнюс-Москва 1992, с. 196.
[10] Д. Поспеловский, *Советские исследования Церкви*, с. 44.
[11] Там же.

В. Распутин и В. Солоухин[12]. Проводниками «возвращения к духовно-национальным корням», основой которых является Православие, стали также многие священники из новообращенных интеллигентов. На почве общности протестных интересов возникли христианские комитеты (своеобразные братства): Христианский комитет защиты прав верующих в СССР, Всероссийский социал-христианский союз освобождения народа, Хельсинская группа, Христианские семинары и религиозно-философские кружки А. Огородникова и В. Пореша, Т. Щипковой, и т.д. Деятельность семинаров и кружков религиозно-философской направленности не ограничивалось собраниями и чтениями. Члены кружков и семинаров посредством открытых писем печатавшихся в западной прессе и самиздате сделали достоянием гласности борьбу социалистического государства с религией. Они выступили с протестом против происходившего беззакония и нарушения прав свободы личности. Их упреки обращены были не только к властям, но в отношении церковного священноначалия «замачивавших» факты гонения Церкви. Назовем некоторых из таких обращенцев, имена которых у всех на слуху: священники Глеб Якунин, Николай Эшлиман, Дмитрий Дудко, иеродиакон Варсонофий Хайбулин, миряне Александр Солженицын, Игорь Шафаревич, Владимир Борисов, Борис Таланов, Лев Регельсон, Зоя Крахмальникова, и другие. Они говорили и писали об «угнетенной и молчащей Церкви» обращаясь не только к гражданским и церковным лидерам в СССР, но через определенные каналы информировали международные и общественные организации о реальном положении религии в СССР[13]. Нередко, их обращения способствовали тому, что власти отступали от своих намерений закрыть ту, или иную церковную общину. Так, благодаря огласке и переданным свящ. Глебом Якуниным и его Комитетом по защите прав верующих материалам о закрытии Свято-Успенской церкви с. Истомино Калужской области на Запад, удалось предотвратить закрытие храма, который является единственной церковной общиной в радиусе 80 км[14]. Как отмечали, в том числе церковные иерархи, широкая, обнародованная известность фактов гонений на Церковь, создающая негативное мнение о СССР в международном сообществе, в некотором смысле послужило ослаблению государственного нажима на Церковь.

[12] В. А. Солоухин, *Возвращение к началу: Лирическая повесть и роман*, Москва 1990; Тот же, *Время собирать камни*, Москва 1990; В. Г. Распутин, *Повести*, Москва 1990; В. П. *Астафьев, Улыбка волчицы: Повесть, роман, рассказы*, Москва 1990.

[13] Г. О. Якунин, *О современном положении РПЦ и перспективах религиозного возрождения России*, [в:] *СССР: Внутренние противоречия*, под ред. В. Чалидзе, Нью-Йорк 1982, вып. 3, с. 149-197.

[14] Д. Константинов, свящ., *Продолжение гонений на Церковь*, [в:] *Русское возрождение*, Нью-Йорк-Москва-Париж 1984, № 25, с. 106-108.

Целью христианских семинаров стремились превратиться в сеть небольших миссионерских христианских общин. Многие члены семинаров объединялись для того, чтобы изучать христианство не в узкоконфессиональных рамках, а для того, чтобы изучать вообще религиозные истины, не только в теории, но и применять его в жизни, быть миссионерами. Разница между православными братствами возникшими в 1920-х и 1930-х гг., которые возглавляли священники и епископы – подвижники и исповедники Церкви, и семинарами, объединившими неофитов – «обращенцев» была кардинальной. Без пастырского руководства, без традиционного церковного воспитания послушанием и смирением одни из неофитов, почти по язычески абсолютизировали обрядовую сторону культа религии, другие свои «богословские находки» ставили выше церковного богословского наследия, считая церковность уделом старушек. Свои знания о религии они черпали из «умых»книг по философии В. Соловьева, А. Лосева, П. Флоренского, Ф. Гегеля, которые иногда удавалось приобрести в антикварных магазинах. Свои духовные потребности они реализовывали религиозно-мистической сфере, которая не всегда была связана с храмовой молитвой. Они в основном были людьми урбанистической культуры.

С середины 1970-х годов в определенных кругах широко представлен самиздат: журналы «Вече», «Надежда», «Русское возрождение» и другие. Содержание самиздатовской литературы раскрывало всю палитру духовных поисков интеллигенции: от статей посвященных святоотеческому опыту спасения души, историй обращения людей к Богу, до сводок о беззаконных действиях властей по отношению к Церкви и религии[15].

По мнению самих участников правозащитного движения – не следует переоценивать ни само правозащитное движение, так и результаты его деятельности. Религиозные диссиденты не получили поддержки ни в церковной среде, ни в обществе в целом. В церковной среде они были названы выскочками, которые пришли в Церковь через протестную, шумную, гражданскую позицию, не традиционную для консервативных церковников. Не были поддержаны они и граждански обществом[16].

Среди церковников о них говорили, что они пришли «не учиться у Церкви, а учить». Главной, характерной особенностью их была харизматика – они поверили в свою духоносность, избранничество, и видели в христианстве, главным образом, альтернативу существующему строю. Многие из них были осуждены гражданским правосудием на различные сроки заключения, а также запрещены в служении церковной властью. Миряне из протестного движения в большинстве своем не нашили себя в официальной Церкви. В качестве примера назовем яркого христианского

[15] «Надежда», вып. 44, Самиздат 1981.
[16] Л. Алексеева, *История инакомыслия в СССР*, с. 202.

публициста Зои Крахмальниковой, путь духовных исканий которой привел ее впоследствии в харизматический «Богородичный центр». Некоторые из священников-правозащитников в 1990-х годах осознали ошибочность критики священноначалия и излишнюю политизированность протестного движения, что послужило отходу от них почитателей. Некоторые, в частности, Многих людей из церковной среды покоробило покаяние о. Дмитрия Дудко, который сожалел о вреде, который он принес, по его выражению «стране, народу, а также. Православной Церкви»[17]. Как писала Л. Алексеева: «среди священников он [о. Дмитрий Дудко – прим. Д. С.] остался одиноким в своем начинании, ему никто не последовал»[18].

О возвращенцах в Церковь имеется также немало свидетельств. В докладе «Русская Православная Церковь в год своего 1000-летия» А. Бессмертный-Анзимиров, ссылаясь на мнение сельских священников делает интересное замечание. Оказывается, значительная часть их немолодых прихожанок, активно участвующих в богослужении, – это бывшие комсомолки 1920-1930-х годов, которые сами некогда участвовали в закрытии и осквернении храмов. Повзрослев, пройдя жизненные испытания, в 1960-е годы они раскаивались «подвигах» своей молодости и старались быть примерными прихожанами[19]. По мнению историка Д. Поспеловского (который подтверждает свои выводы данными статистики совершения обрядов) можно сделать вывод о том, что коэффициент верующих в Бога, или ищущих веру людей в 1960-1980-е годы был не ниже, чем 50-60 лет назад. Он утверждает, что по данным советских социологов верующих стриков и старух «много за 50%»[20].

Его слова подтверждают наблюдения правозащитников. На семинаре, созванном А. Огородниковым в Ленинграде, Валерий Борщев в докладе «Христианская общественность: вчера, сегодня завтра» уделил большое внимание феномену «старушечьей Церкви». Воздав похвалу старушкам, как важному фактору сохранения веры Борщов указал на «тайную форму исповедания» тех, кто в молодости, при невозможности открыто свидетельствовать о своей вере, после выхода на пенсию, не только сами пришли в храмы, но везли крестить своих и соседских внуков, как могли учили их молитвам, которые знали, либо выучили по переписанным листочкам, водили внуков в храмы, поддерживали кровом и хлебом странников и монахов из закрытых монастырей. Они, старухи, «перепи-

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[17] Д. Дудко, прот., *Открытое письмо* „Журнал Московской Патриархии", Москва 1980, № 7, с. 40.

[18] Л. Алексеева, *История инакомыслия в СССР*, с. 194.

[19] А. Бессмертный – Анзимиров, *Русская православная Церковь в год своего 1000-летия*, [в:] *Русское зарубежье в год тысячелетия Крещения Руси: Сборник*, Москва 1991, с. 98.

[20] Д. Поспеловский, *Советские исследования Церкви и реакция верующих на атеизм*, Лондон 1988, с. 237.

сывали от руки Евангелие и акафисты, молитвослов. Не смотря ни на какие трудности и унижения, угрозы со стороны чиновников боролись за открытие храмов. Были главными помощниками священников на приходах. Несли в храм свои сбережения. «Без малейшей объединяющей организации, – говорил В. Борщев, – тихая стойкость «старушек» постепенно слились с активностью более молодых ревнителей веры»[21].

Именно они впитывали от оставшихся в живых свидетелей традиционной религиозности – монахинь, старых священников азы православной духовности и культуры, которые конечно отмечала печать примитивизма. К высоким богословским истинам приходили в основном обращенцы. Пример – религиозный философ и богослов С. Аверинцев, становление которого пришлось как раз на 1960-1970-е годы.

На основании многих свидетельств, как устных, так и документальных, можно сделать вывод, что религиозное сообщество 1960- 1970-х годов составляли в основном люди выросшие вне традиционной религиозности. Их знания о религии находились в основном в сфере обрядоверия. Новые поколения сначала стали тайно приходить в Церковь, завязывать знакомства, объединяться в небольшие группы верующей молодежи, интеллигентов, которые можно считать зародышами современной христианской общественности.

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ПАВЕЛ БОЧКО

Иоанн (Боднарчук) и Владимир Ярема: к истории одного запрещения

Słowa kluczowe: Jan (Bodnarczuk), Włodzimierz Jarema, Ukraiński Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny, rozbicie, niekanoniczna jurysdykcja

Keywords: John (Bodnarchuk), Vladimir Yarema, "Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church", schism, non-canonical jurisdictions

Streszczenie

Jan (Bodnarczuk) i Włodzimierz Jarema: historia jednego zakazu

Artykuł poświęcony jest historii powstania niekanonicznej struktury „Ukraińskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego", która powstała na zachodniej Ukrainie w 1989 roku. Na podstawie nieznanego wcześniej dokumentu możemy poznać trudne relacje między „metropolitą lwowskim i galickim, pierwszym hierarchą UAKP" Janem (Bodnarczukiem) i ówczesnego dziekana Włodzimierza Jaremy, głównego inicjatora powołania UAKP, który był pozbawiony godności kapłańskiej z powodu bezpośredniego konfliktu z Janem (Bodnarczukiem) oraz z innymi przedstawicielami hierarchii UAKP.

Abstract

John (Bodnarchuk) and Vladimir Yarema: on the history of one prohibition

The article is devoted to the history of the non-canonical structure of the "Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church", which was established in western Ukraine in 1989. Based on a previously unknown document, we can learn about difficult relations between the "Metropolitan of Lviv and Galitsky, UAOC First Hierarch" John (Bodnarchuk) and the "Protopresbyter" Vladimir Yarema, the main initiator of the UAKP appointment, who was deprived of priesthood due to direct conflict with Jan (Bodnarczuk) and with other representatives of the UAKP hierarchy.

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В истории уклонения в раскол Львовского протоиерея Владимира Яремы, настоятеля храма святых первоверховных апостолов Петра и Павла в городе Львове и начале построения им собственной церковной структуры, существует довольно много пробелов. До сих пор возникают споры по поводу каноничности первых хиротоний «епископата» УАПЦ, прошедших в церкви свв. апп. Петра и Павла. Различные характеры, политические амбиции, воспитание и каноническое сознание группы совершенно разных по своему складу характеров лиц, получивших в новой неканонической структуре «посвящения» и должности, привели к острым и громким скандалам еще на заре зарождения самой структуры.

15 февраля 1989 года, при поддержке националистических организаций, в Киеве начал действовать инициативный комитет по восстановлению УАПЦ (признававший идейную и историческую преемственность с УАПЦ Липковского и Сикорского). Комитет был создан на базе ««Украинского культурологического клуба», состовшего из литераторов, журналистов, писателей мистико-философской ориентации, а вовсе не в церковной среде, где подобные идеи однозначно не были бы восприняты»[2]. Одним из первых священников, заявивших о необходимости возрождения УАПЦ, стал львовский протоиерей Владимир Ярема, обрисовавший свою позицию в письме митрополиту Киевскому Филарету (Денисенко)[3].

Как известно, 19 августа 1989 года протоиерей Владимир Ярема и священник Иоанн Пашуля объявили о выходе из юрисдикции Русской Православной Церкви Московского Патриархата и переходе в юрисдикцию «митрополита, Первоиерарха УАПЦ в Диаспоре» Мстислава (Скрыпника). Это был последний оставшийся в живых иерарх УАПЦ формации 1942 года, оставившей Украину вместе с отступающими частями Германской армии и перенесшей свою деятельность в эмиграцию. Фактически данное деяние стало отправной точкой для возрождения «Украинской Автокефальной Православной Церкви» третьей генерации. Вскоре и другие священники Львовской епархии присоединились к прот. Владимиру Яреме. Мощнейшая волна ненависти к советскому режиму, доживавшему последние годы, волна национализма, стремительное и агрессивное возрождение Украинской Греко-Католической Церкви лишь

[2] Р. Ярема, *Церковные расколы в Украине*, Киев 2007, с. 17.
[3] См.: В. Ярема Володимир, *Письмо Високопреосвященнішему Кир Філарету Митрополиту Київському и Галицькому, Патріаршому екзархові всієї України от 27.02.1989*, с. 1-9 [в:] Архив Львовского епархиального Управления УПЦ.

усугубили процесс уклонения в раскол. Часто захват православных храмов производился по решению административных органов, которые своими решениями передавали их в ведение УАПЦ или УГКЦ. Нередко на духовенство и мирян оказывалось сильное давление с применением насилия с целью склонить их к переходу в унию или самочинную автокефалию. По мнению некоторых исследователей, симпатии населения к автокефалистам – это, прежде всего, реакция православных на наступление униатства, некая попытка самосохранения православия в духовной атмосфере, насыщенной резким негативизмом как к РПЦ, так и к УПЦ, пребывающей в каноническом единстве с Московским Патриархатом[4].

Одним из священников, уклонившихся в раскол, был выдающийся львовский протоиерей о. Созонт Чобич (1938-2017), кандидат богословия, церковный историк, автор многочисленных научных работ и публикаций. Будучи главой многочисленной священнической семьи, о. Созонт также в 1990 году вошел в состав УАПЦ, где с большим энтузиазмом стал помогать «митрополиту» Иоанну (Боднарчуку), став его референтом, активно готовя тексты посланий и иные документы для верующих Галиции. В середине 1990-х годов прот. Созонт перешёл в юрисдикцию «Украинской Православной Церкви Киевского Патриархата», в которой находился до 2015 года, перейдя затем снова в УАПЦ. В конце жизни, будучи уже совсем немощным, протоиерей Созонт Чобич воссоединился с канонической Церковью и был отпет в Свято-Георгиевском кафедральном соборе г. Львова епископом Львовским и Галицким Украинской Православной Церкви Филаретом (Кучеровым).

Единственным иерархом, имеющим каноническую хиротонию, согласившимся поддержать возникновение новой УАПЦ, стал бывший Житомирский епископ Иоанн (Боднарчук). 19 сентября 1989 года Священный Синод Русской Православной Церкви освободил его от управления Житомирской и Овручской епархией, и назначил ему персональную пенсию для лечения[5]. Не скрывая своих националистических взглядов, епископ Иоанн (Боднарчук) с большим энтузиазмом воспринял идею выхода из юрисдикции РПЦ львовских церковных общин, и спустя непродолжительное время присоединился к этому процессу. С 22 октября 1989 года он объявил себя главой новой УАПЦ и телеграммой на имя Священного Синода РПЦ и Патриарха Пимена известил Священный Синод РПЦ о своем выходе из РПЦ. В ответ на раскольническую деятельность Священный Синод РПЦ на своем заседании от 13.11.1989

[4] А. Драбинко, *Православие в посттоталитарной Украине (вехи истории)*, Киев 2002, с. 19; См. Е. Комаров, *„Да не обольстит вас никто...” Размышления о приходской жизни в Галиции*, „Журнал Московской Патриархии”, № 8, Москва 1991, с. 24-31.

[5] *Определения Священного Синода*, „Журнал Московской Патриархии”, Москва 1990, № 1, с. 30-34.

года лишил епископа Иоанна священного сана и монашества[6]. Не признав данных прещений, Иоанн (Боднарчук) приступил к поиску другого иерарха, который бы согласился совместно с Боднарчуком совершить новые архиерейские рукоположения для УАПЦ.

Националистическое движение, особенно развившееся на западе страны, частично охватило и Церковь, на начало 1990 года в УАПЦ из РПЦ МП перешло более 400 приходов Галиции [7]. Уклонившиеся в раскол клирики, пользуясь помощью властей на местах и силами боевиков УНА-УНСО, активно захватывали храмы: разгрому подверглись Ивано-Франковская, Львовская и Тернопольская епархии канонической Украинской Православной Церкви. Пока «митрополит» Мстислав только собирался приехать на Украину, Иоанн (Боднарчук) уже начал искать еще одного «епископа» для совершения новых «хиротоний». Итогом поисков стало обретение некоего «катакомбного» «епископа» Викентия (Чекалина), известного проходимца и церковного авантюриста. «Однако впоследствии выяснилось, что «епископ» Викентий (в миру – Виктор Владимирович Чекалин, 1952 года рождения) на самом деле оказался бывшим диаконом Тульской епархии»[8] лишенным священного сана. Свое «епископство» Чекалин получил в т.н. «секачевской ветви» Катакомбной Церкви, священство которой отвергается практически всеми православными каноническими и неканоническими юрисдикциями, т.к. наличие в «секачевской» «иерархии» апостольского преемства решительно отвергается. Это обусловлено тем, что данная «иерархия» возводит свое преемство к религиозному мошеннику М. Поздееву, выдававшему себя за православного архиепископа, а на деле не имеющего никакого посвящения в священный сан [9].

Вместе с Чекалиным Боднарчук «рукоположил» ряд новых автокефальных украинских «епископов». Первыми посвященными «епископами» стали Василий (Боднарчук) Тернопольский и Бучацкий (родной брат Иоанна (Боднарчука) [10]), Андрей (Абрамчук) Ивано-Франковский

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[6] *Материалы заседания Священного Синода РПЦ*, „Журнал Московской Патриархии”, № 2, Москва 1990, с. 4-5.

[7] *До 15-ї річниці Першого Всеукраї нського Православного Собору ІІІ відродження УАПЦ 5-6 червня 1990 року*, „Український православний церковний календар на 2005 рік”, Видання Української Автокефальної Православної Церкви, Золочив 2004, с. 73.

[8] Р. Ярема, *Церковные расколы в Украине*, Киев 2007, с. 24.

[9] Подробнее см.: В. В. Алексеев, М. Ю. Нечаева, *Воскресшие Романовы?.. К истории самозванчества в России XX века*, ч. I, Екатеринбург 2001; В. В. Алексеев, М. Ю. Нечаева, *Воскресшие Романовы?.. К истории самозванчества в России XX века*, ч. II, Челябинск – Екатеринбург 2002.

[10] Василий Боднарчук, в юности участвовал в деятельности ОУН – УПА, за что был осужден и отбывал срок в сталинских лагерях в Красноярском крае, в г. Норильске. По окончании отбытия наказания, поступил в семинарию, став и там объектом для нападок атеистов и коммунистов. Вот, как в одной из критических статей его описы-

и Коломыйский, Даниил (Ковальчук) Черновицкий, Хотинский и всей Буковины и Владимир (Романюк), Ужгородский и Хустский. По некоторой информации, в 1990 году, «патриарх» Мстислав, сомневаясь в каноничности «хиротоний» первых «епископов» Боднарчука, присылая одного из своих американских «архиереев», «архиепископа» Антония (Щербу)[11], который «перерукоположил» всех «архиереев» «чекалинского» поставления[12].

В апреле – мае 1990 г. в составе УАПЦ насчитывалось 200 приходов и 100 священников в Львовской области, 380 приходов и 180 священников в Ивано-Франковской области и 30 приходов и 15 священников в Тернопольской области[13]. По мнению некоторых исследователей, успех роста УАПЦ был связан и с неудовлетворенностью мер, предпринимаемых к охранению церковного единства и противодействию расколу со стороны экзарха РПЦ на Украине митрополита Филарета (Денисенко)[14].

Появление собственной иерархии, церковно-административного аппарата, казалось, отодвинуло в сторону личность идейного вдохновителя УАПЦ протоиерея Владимира Яремы, с чем последний категорически не был согласен. В скором времени действия митрополита Иоанна и новорукоположенных епископов были подвергнуты критике со стороны о. Яремы, удостоенного права ношения митры, а затем и сана прото-

вал бывший однокашник по семинарии: «…дьякон Василий Боднарчук завоевывал симпатии семинаристов исполнением «блатных» песен, рассказами под одобрительный смех семинарских «отроков» различных анекдотов, отнюдь не «божественного» содержания. О всех достоинствах отца дьякона я не буду говорить. Вел он себя не как дьякон, а как самый отъявленный хулиган, и я нисколько не удивился, когда прочел позже в газете «Смена», что этот «раб божий» – бывший главарь банды украинских националистов, известный по кличке «Богдан», с обрезом в руках сражался против Советской власти». А. А. Кухаренко, *Я был в семинарии…* [в:] *За стенами духовной семинарии*, Ленинград 1964, с. 18.

[11] Антоний (Щерба), «епископ» Нью-Йоркский, затем «архиепископ» (1985-1995). Управлял Австралийско-Новозеландской епархией (1991-1999). Принят в состав Константинопольского патриархата, с 12.03.1995, архиепископ Иерапольский. В 2012 г. избран Первоиерархом и митрополитом УПЦ в США, утвержден Вселенским Патриархатом и интронизирован в 2013 г. Является также «Местоблюстителем Митрополичьего престола УАПЦ в Диаспоре». См.: *Антоній, Митрополит УПЦ в США* [в:] Українська Автокефальна Православна Церква в Діаспорі. Офіційний веб-сайт [Электронный ресурс]. – 2019. – Режим доступа: http://www.uaoc-diaspora.com/Metr-Antony.htm – Дата доступа: 29.11.2019; „Orthodoxia", 2012-2013, Regensburg 2012, p. 142.

[12] Р. Ярема, *Розкольницькі рухи в українському Православ ї у XX-XXI століттях*, Почаїв 2013, с. 42.

[13] *Кількість парафій УАПЦ* [в:] *Відродження. Видання Братства св. Андрія Первозванного УАПЦ*, Львів 1990, травень, ч. 1, с. 4.

[14] Д. В. Поспеловский, *Русская Православная Церковь в XX веке*, Москва 1995, с. 423.

пресвитера в составе УАПЦ[15]. Уже на июньском Соборе УАПЦ 1990 г. Ярема и группа его сторонников сформулировали суть своих требований от остальной части УАПЦ: «1. Центром возрожденного автокефального движения в Украине является не Киев, а Львов. 2. Никаких совместных действий с греко-католиками, открытая борьба с ними, вытеснение их из Украины, препятствование реабилитации УГКЦ, насильное отнятие у них храмов. 3. В полемике с Русской Православной Церковью главной целью является очернение Киевского митрополита РПЦ и патриаршего экзарха Филарета Денисенко, насмешка над переименованием Украинского экзархата РПЦ в «Украинскую Православную Церковь»»[16]. По мнению некоторых исследователей, Боднарчук имел амбиции стать следующим «патриархом Киевским» после Мстислава (Скрыпника), чему энергично воспротивился Ярема[17]. Не скрывая своей критики, Ярема вскоре вступил в конфликт с Боднарчуком, который принял решение о запрещении «протопресвитера» Владимира Яремы еще в декабре 1991 года. Однако во всех официально открытых источниках дата запрещения указана как 29 февраля 1992 года. Публикация нижеприведенного документа, подписанного рукой Иоанна (Боднарчука), уточняет дату начала действиям, закончившиеся для самого Боднарчука негативно.

Владимир Ярема, имея некоторые доверительные отношения с митрополитом Мстиславом (Скрыпником), провозглашенным «патриархом УАПЦ», сумел отстоять свою точку зрения, и уже в конце января 1992 года Иоанн (Боднарчук) был смещен с поста «митрополита Львовского» и назначен на Житомирскую епархию. В апреле 1992 года Мстислав (Скрыпник) вновь прибыл на Украину, и лично провел Синод «епископов УАПЦ», на котором принял решение об исключении Иоанна (Боднарчука) из состава «иерархии УАПЦ», в том числе и за запрещение в служении Яремы. Оставшись вне какой либо группы, Боднарчук направил покаянное письмо в Священный Синод РПЦ, в котором сожалел о содеянном и желал примирения с канонической Церковью. Чуть позже, Иоанн (Боднарчук) вошел в юрисдикцию образованной в июне 1992 года новой неканонической структуры – «Украинской Православной Церкви Киевского Патриархата», и уже вскоре был назначен «митрополитом Дрогобычским и Самборским», а позже – Луцким и Волынским. 9 ноября 1994 года, находясь за рулем своего автомобиля, Иоанн (Боднарчук) попал в ДТП и погиб.

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[15] *Спогади. Патріярх Димитрій (Ярема). Пастир, патріот, дослідник*, Львів 2011, с. 139.

[16] Д. В. Степовик, *Патріарх Мстислав: Життя й архіпастирська діяльність*, Киев 2007, с. 268.

[17] Ю. Федів, *Димтрій (Ярема), патріарх Київський і всієї України, предстоятель УАПЦ. Життиєвий шлях (1915-2000 рр.) та діяльність*, Львив 2019, с. 24.

Владимир Ярема впоследствии принял монашеский постриг с именем Димитрий (в честь святителя Димитрия митрополита Ростовского), и был рукоположен в сан «епископа Переяславского и Сичеславского» УАПЦ, впоследствии возглавив ее в сане «патриарха Киевского и вся Руси-Украины». Интронизация Димитрия (Яремы) состоялась 14 октября 1993 года в церкви Спаса на Берестове в г. Киеве[18]. Ярема пережил Боднарчука почти на 6 лет. Он скончался в феврале 2000 года во Львове.

История третьего возрождения УАПЦ окончилась в 2018 году, когда данная юрисдикция самораспустилась путем слияния с «Украинской Православной Церковью Киевского Патриархата». На основе данных неканонических групп, принятых в Константинопольский патриархат была организована «Православная Церковь Украины», получившая Томос об автокефалии подписанный Вселенским патриархом Варфоломеем и членами Синода Константинопольской церкви. На протяжении почти тридцатилетнего существования УАПЦ, бесконечные скандалы, разделения и непрекращающиеся конфликты сотрясали ее. УАПЦ явила себя как общность уклонившихся в раскол клириков и мирян, придерживающихся крайних националистических идей и воззрений, в целом нетерпимых по отношению к Русской Православной Церкви и ее каноническому устройству[19]. Публикуемый документ ярко характеризует родоначальников данной неканонической группы: «митрополита» Иоанна (Боднарчука) и «протопресвитера» Владимира Ярему, объединившихся в расколе лишь на короткое время и сразу же ставших непримиримыми антагонистами.

Приложение

Публикуется по машинописной копии, текст отпечатан на обычном листе потребительского формата (А4) с одной стороны. В правом верхнем углу сделана надпись под углом: «Копія + М. J.» [Митрополит Иоанн Боднарчук]

Ниже, в левом углу, в месте для указания даты отпечатано: 11 грудня, затем от руки вписан год: 1991. № и 665. Автограф с полной подписью титула сделан собственноручно рукой Иоанна Боднарчука. Перевод с украинского, и публикация – священника Павла Бочкова.

11 грудня 1991 року
№ 665

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[18] Там же, с. 56.

[19] См.: П. Бочков, иерей, *История и современное состояние неканонической юрисдикции «Украинской Автокефальной Православной Церкви» (с 1989 г.)* „Рязанский богословский вестник”, № 2 (12), Рязань 2015, с. 55-81.

ПРОТОПРЕСВІТЕРОВІ ВОЛОДИМИРУ ЯРЕМІ

Сім засвідчується, що Протопресвітер Володимир Ярема, настоятель церкви свв. апп. Петра і Павла у м. Львові, поповнив великий і тяжкий гріх перед святою Українською Автокефальною Православною Церквою та її ієрархією і духовенством. Отець Ярема у газеті «За Вільну Україну» 20 вересня 1991 року написав підступну і неправдиву статтю в якій знеславив авторитет УАПЦеркви, Її Першоієрарха Митрополита Іоана, Єпископа Данила і Духовенства, назвавши їх колаборантами, тобто співпрацівниками з ворогами України і зрадниками свого народу. Отець Володимир проводив інтриги і сіяв розбрат між єпископами, духовенством роблячи все для того, щоби розвалити щойно відроджену Церкву зсередини, що дуже негативно вплинуло на повне відродження УАП Церкви в Галичині та на східних областях України. За такі зрадницькі і недостойні поступки священик Володимир Ярема, згідно 31 і 55 – го Апостольських Правил підлягає Церковно-Канонічного Суду.

Священикові Володимиру Яремі був відпущений довший час на обдумання своїх поступків, але отець Володимир не покорився і не використав спеціально відпущеного йому часу на покаяння, а навпаки підбурював віруючий народ, закривав Консисторію на свої замки, інформував неправдиво Патріарха, Патріаршу Канцелярію, Єпископів, священиків і тим самим вносив хаос у всі ділянки церковного життя.

Взявши до уваги все вищесказане, я, Іоан, Митрополит Львівський і Галицький, якого вибрав і призначив І-ий Всеукраїнський Собор 5 червня 1990 року, утвердив своєю п'ятою постановою, владою мені наданою від Господа і від І-го Всеукраїнського Собору, під тяжким гріхом, забороняю священикові Володимирові Яремі, з дня видачі указу, звершувати Богослужіння, Таїнства, треби, виступати від імені Церкви і проповідувати Слово Боже. Хто зі священиків насмілиться з забороненим послужити, то і він, згідно Канонів, підпадає під заборону. Заборона може бути знята тільки після повного усвідомлення свого падіння і розкаяння в скоєному розколі передо мною та через пресу – Єпархіальною Радою, духовенством, парафіянами, усім Українським народом.

+ Іоанн, Митрополит Львівський і Галицький, Першоієрарх УАПЦеркви на Україні, заступник (закреслено), Намісник Патріарха. (Автограф прописом синім чорнилом)

Перевод с украинского языка на русский:

11 декабря 1991 г.

№ 665

ПРОТОПРЕСВИТЕРУ ВЛАДИМИРУ ЯРЕМЕ

Сим свидетельствуется, что Протопресвитер Владимир Ярема, настоятель церкви свв. апп. Петра и Павла в г. Львове, совершил великий

и тяжкий грех перед святой Украинской Автокефальной Православной Церковью и ее иерархией и духовенством. Отец Ярема в газете «За Вільну Україну» 20 сентября 1991 года написал коварную и неправдивую статью в которой опозорил авторитет УАПЦеркви, Ее Первоиерарха Митрополита Иоанна, Епископа Даниила и Духовенства, назвавший их коллаборационистами, то есть соработниками с врагами Украины и предателями своего народа. Отец Владимир заводил интриги и сеял раздор между епископами, духовенством делая все для того, чтобы развалить только что возрожденную Церковь изнутри, что очень негативно повлияло на полное возрождение УАПЦеркви в Галичине и в восточных областях Украины. За эти предательские и недостойные поступки священник Владимир Ярема, согласно 31 и 55 – го Апостольских Правил, подлежит Церковно-Каноническому Суду.

Священнику Владимиру Яреме было отпущено долгое время на обдумывание своих поступков, но отец Владимир не покорился и не использовал специально отпущенного ему времени на покаяние, а наоборот, подстрекал верующий народ, закрывал Консисторию на свои замки, информировал ложно Патриарха, Патриаршую Канцелярию, Епископов, священников и тем самым вносил хаос во все сферы церковной жизни.

Принимая во внимание все вышесказанное, Я, Иоанн, Митрополит Львовский и Галицкий, которого избрал и назначил I-й Всеукраинский Собор 5 июня 1990 г., утвердив своим пятым постановлением, властью, данной мне от Господа и от I-го Всеукраинского Собора, считая тяжелым грехом, запрещаю священнику Владимиру Яреме со дня выдачи указа совершать Богослужения, Таинства, требы, выступать от имени Церкви и проповедовать Слово Божие. Кто из священников осмелится с запрещенным послужить, то и он, согласно Канонов, подпадает под запрещение. Запрещение может быть снято только после полного осознания своего падения и раскаяния в совершенном расколе передо мной и через прессу – Епархиальным Советом, духовенством, прихожанами, всем Украинским народом.

+ Иоанн, Митрополит Львовский и Галицкий, Первоиерарх УАП Церкви на Украине, заместитель (зачеркнуто), Наместник Патриарха. (Автограф прописью синими чернилами)

Машинописная копия: Архив документов прот. Созонта Чобича.

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